THE MAN JESUS

MARY AUSTIN

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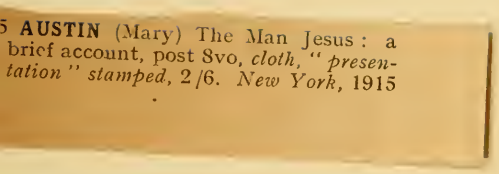
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THE MAN JESUS

BOOKS BY

MARY AUSTIN

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THE MAN JESUS
LOST BORDERS
SANTA LUCIA

[PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE]

THE LAND OF LITTLE RAIN
ISIDRO
THE BASKET WOMAN
THE FLOCK
THE ARROW MAKER
CHRIST IN ITALY
THE GREEN BOUGH
A WOMAN OF GENIUS
THE LOVELY LADY
THE LAND OF THE SUN
LOVE AND THE SOUL-MAKER

THE MAN JESUS

Being a brief account of the Life and Teaching of The Prophet of Nazareth

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BY

MARY AUSTIN

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THE MAN JESUS

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G–P

Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.—Deut. xxxiii, 4.

[The above was taught to every Hebrew child by his father as soon as the child was old enough to speak. A little later he was taught the first part of the Shema, which follows. The whole Shema, including Deut. ix, 13-21, and Num. xv, 37-41, was recited by every devout Hebrew morning and night.]

Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord:—

And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as a frontlet between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.—Deut. vi, 4-9.

THE MAN JESUS

I

WHEN Tiberius Cæsar had been some fifteen years upon the seat of Roman Empire there arose, in an inconsiderable quarter of his realm, a man of a destiny so tragic and a character so commanding that a score of centuries have scarcely served to dim the appeal of his unique personality. He arose upon the Bridge of the World, shaken as it was with the passing of Roman power between Egypt and Asia, among the people whose voice among the nations was as the voice of one crying small wares in the midst of traffic. They were the Keepers of the Bridge. Their race had been born amid its ribs and buttresses; they had been swept from it by Egypt and Assyria, whence, after generations of captivity, they had found their way back to it with the instinct of homing-pigeons. They sat upon the Bridge between the desert and the sea and trafficked with the nations going past; they

trafficked even for the right to sit and traffic in their ancient seats. Sometimes they fought for it, but that was only when they were threatened in their sole other distinction. For they were not only a race of traffickers; they dreamed greatly.

When the bazars were shut and the smoke of the evening sacrifice gone up, they forgathered upon the housetops with their feet tucked under them and dreamed a splendid and orderly heaven with Him of the Ineffable Name sitting in the midst of the vault, surrounded by rank on rank of Seraphim and Cherubim, angels and archangels, all singing and with flaming wings. They went further and dreamed a world of men in the same order and symmetry, a world dripping with milk and honey where there should be none hurt and none crying any more, and the lion and the lamb lying down together. It was perhaps a shopkeeper's heaven, with everything ticketed and tucked away in it—think of a people undertaking to name the whole heavenly host!—but it surpassed in grandeur, in singleness of conception, the hybrid theogonies of the pagan world as much as the Græco-Roman Zeus-Pater, the Thunderer, was surpassed by their *High and Holy One Who Inhabiteth Eternity.*

And for the right to worship this One-God in their own fashion and to keep undefiled His holy places the Jews would fight on occasion, but it was the only

thing they would fight for. Their two great national achievements—the winning forth from Egypt and the return from captivity—they owed not to the sword, but to that quality which has made them before all others a business people. Once religious freedom was assured to them, they made what terms they could for a degree of political independence.

These are two things to remember about the Jews in thinking of the man who arose among them: that their dreaming was all of God, and that when there was anything of great import to be done they thought of every other way to go about it rather than by fighting. It is well to keep these in mind because, however much a man of any race may seem to oppose the genius of the tribe that produced him, it is impossible that he should not take from them in some fashion the line of his direction. The third item in the resolution of the external forces that determined the mold of the man Jesus, was the fact that he was sprung from a mountain people.

That was a country split into shoulders and summits, into narrow, knife-cut valleys and flowering oases between high, tumbled barrens. It followed that the inhabitants were divided into tribes and half tribes, and these into factions. It is always so in mountain countries where field is separated from

field by waste, and village is buttressed against village. Carmel has its foot in the sea, Lebanon is cut off, Hermon the white-haired stands up over Naphtali, Gilead and Ephraim are divided. The Samaritans were despised by the Judeans, who found the Galilcans crude; and the Galilcans themselves doubted if any good thing could come out of Nazareth. When they needed, therefore, a common bond they did not find it, as other tribes are prone to do, in political advantage or identity of material interests; they found it in the common dream, in the reality of a common spiritual experience. They fought for Jehovah and the holy places, even though they could not agree among themselves which places were the holiest. That was how it happened that the people who never achieved anything like national integrity for themselves, except for the briefest periods, were the first to effect a movement toward the universal state. For when their great man came, he walked, though they failed for the time to appreciate it, in the deep-rutted track which Hebrew thought had made for him.

The first that was heard of him was in connection with one of those singular characters which seem to have arisen from time to time among all ancient peoples, a true prophet by all the marks, of the stripe of Malachi and Habakkuk and Jeremiah.

This John, called the Baptist, must have been a

Galilean, an inhabitant of that portion of the Bridge which reached from the roots of Lebanon past Naphtali, past Tabor and Hermon, past the plain of Esdraelon stretching to the narrow Phœnician coast, down the Rift of Jordan to the dead, desert sea. For this assumption we have the natural temper of his mind and the fact that he was amenable to the civil authority of Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee. He took a true prophet's liberty with his sovereign by telling him exactly what he thought of him, and Herod, for his part, accorded John the customary recognition of kings to prophets by shutting him up in prison and finally making an end of him. But before that much had happened.

About the time that the shadow of madness began to grow upon the mind of Tiberius Claudius Nero and the hateful race of informers fattened under the hand of Sejanus, when Herod Antipas was living openly with his brother's wife, and Aretas, father of his legal consort, breathing war against him, this John began suddenly to preach the kingdom of heaven at hand. To the orthodox Jew the phrase, Kingdom of Heaven, meant the specific realization of the great national dream, an institution so Hebraic in its scope and limitation that it was doubtful if the world at large had any place in it beyond a vague consignment to an outer circle of darkness where there was wailing and gnashing of teeth.

Therefore when John began to proclaim its immanence and declare it in that high impassioned style which is the hall-mark of prophetic inspiration, the little world of Jewry went out to hear him.

In the first place, it might be true; and in the second, John was, on the whole, very good entertainment. He was an ascetic dressed in a garment of camel's-hair girt about with skins, living off the land, on seeds of sparse-grown desert shrubs and honey from the hiving rocks along the bluffs of Jordan. Then there was this interesting new ritual of baptism — that was a poor Jew indeed, who couldn't make room in his life for *one* more ceremonial—and he had a lively condemnation for such as are in authority, which is always pleasing to those not themselves among the authorities. Also there were devout souls who were in expectation, looking for the great day of Israel. Among them was the man from Nazareth.

He must have come on foot from his home, a day's journey, down the deepest rift in the world—it is not for mere poetizing that the river is called Jordan, the Down-comer—to the ford where Naaman washed, where the Ark of the Covenant passed over and the reeds are still shaken in the wind out of Haran. The soil hereabout is as red as a red heifer, streaked with marl. The river comes down between ribbons of deep poisonous green in a jungle of tamarisk and

oleander. Westward Judea lifts by terraces, dim under the heat haze, scarred by volcanic waste; east away lie the level tops of Gilead, out of which the prophet Elijah had so mysteriously burst upon the times of Ahab. Many thoughts of Israel past and future must have flocked with the crowds that went out to John's preaching in the shut valley of the Jordan. Crowds there must have been far beyond what is indicated by the meager report, for the prophet succeeded not only in attracting the attention of the reigning house, but in staving off his end for a year or two by reason of his popularity. But for his survival in history and in the world beyond the Bridge he was debtor to the man from Nazareth.

Of this man, up to the moment of his contact with John and the reorganization of his spiritual forces which took place immediately afterward, very little is known. His very name of Joshua has come down to us only in the Greek form of Jesus. Beyond that we have the mere mention of his parents, Joseph and Mary, brothers James and Jude, Simon and Joses, and unnamed sisters. There is a tradition that he was born in Bethlehem while his mother was on a journey, all of which is set down with great circumstantiality by one Luke, a physician writing in the last quarter of the first century; but, if true, Jesus never referred to the place and never revisited

it. He was brought up in the hill town of Nazareth to his father's trade of carpenter. This much seems certain. For the rest we have a great body of legend such as collects readily about any man of singular gift or destiny. These in their place should be examined; for the light they throw on the way in which, within a generation after his death, he came to be regarded, they have much to commend them. But of plain fact there is this precisely: a young Jew, something under thirty, of the better class of working-men, by name, Joshua Ben Joseph, receiving the rite of baptism from a wild anchorite on the mud-banks of a muddy river.

There had been preaching first, perhaps a psalm-singing. It would have been in the nature of a pilgrimage, this exodus from Jerusalem; from Samaria, from the parts of Galilee and the east-lying Græco-Syrian Decapolis to hear the prophet. It was a time when men looked every way for salvation. John they heard with an instinctive attempt to connect him with their past, with those of his own trade prophecy. It was so they could best judge what his teaching might mean to the future of Israel. In their dreams the Jews looked for a Messiah, but in their hearts they expected Elijah, greatest of all True-Speaking. Among the faithful to this day is not the door left open on the Paschal evening for the return of the prophet? It was hereabout

that he was last seen of men, parting the Jordan with his garment, passing over dry-shod before he was taken up. . . . (*Oh, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!*") Memories like this prompted inquiry.

"Who art thou, then?" No doubt as they waited a supernatural thrill went over them. It was a time and a place when almost anything might happen. But John had an answer for them.

"The voice of one crying in the Wilderness. Prepare ye the way of the Lord!" So now, they knew him. He was the forerunner. This also was according to scripture. But there was more of John's message, and that astonishing.

Of old time the prophets had preached to kings and high priests, to the nation in its entirety, rebuking tyrannies and putting down false gods, restoring alike the altars and the ancient liberties. The new note that came in with John was the note of personal repentance, and not that only, but fruit meet for repentance brought forth on every bough, "For the axe is laid to the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire." Judge how this was received by the Hebrew who counted himself safe in being of the stock of Abraham. "And think not," John warned them, "to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father, for

I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham."

This was the astonishment and the affront of John's preaching. The Kingdom was at hand, and being a Jew wasn't of itself sufficient to get you into it. It seems certain that many of his hearers, among them Herod, rejected such doctrine. But Herod John reproved openly for his adulteries, and to the Pharisees and Sadducees when he saw them come to his baptism he scoffed, "O ye generations of vipers, who hath warned *you* to flee from the wrath to come?"

You perceive here the ancient prophetic touch both in the temper of his mind and the imagery. It would have been the end of the dry season, and all along the heights of Gilead quick fires ran in the stubble. In his mind's eye John saw the tribes of formalists and hypocrites like swarms of vipers and scorpions scuttling for safety before the fires unquenchable. But for the common people who came asking sincerely what they should do, John had another answer, "He that hath two coats let him impart to him who hath none, and he that hath food let him do likewise." To the publicans he advised, "Exact no more than that which is appointed to you"; and to the soldiers, "Do violence to no man, neither exact anything wrongly, and be content with your wages."

An all too brief report, but explicit. In that last clause is swept away every possibility of supposing that John came to head a revolt against the power of Rome or to reconstruct the social order. This is important in connection with what happened afterward, for the teaching of the Baptist is the sole personal influence that can be traced in the work of the man from Nazareth. Words, phrases of the Forerunner, cropped up again in his ministry; its opening slogan was the same call to repentance. On the death of its founder the first definite movement of the Christian organization was in the direction of John's program—they had all things in common; he that had two coats imparted to him that had none, and he that had food did likewise. Whether the disciples owed it most to Jesus or to John, it marks for the two men a common source of inspiration, a common expectation.

The message of the Baptist was the thread by which Jesus felt his way to the heart of his own mission. The kingdom was at hand, it was to be prepared for, but the preparation had not all to do with God and man; it was bound up somehow with the relations between man and his neighbor. All this could hardly have come of one preaching. Years afterward Paul found Apollos, an Alexandrine convert, spreading the baptism of John as far afield as Ephesus. All of which goes to show the perti-

nence of his doctrine and the man's grip on his audience.

Of this there were both numbers and variety. The river here meets the highways; legionaries went by between Petra and Damascus, caravans from Egypt to the parts of Arabia. At the ford the thick ribbon of tamarisk and oleander called the Pride of Jordan is set back by the canebrake. Old herons go a-fishing there; the hot air of the Rift is filled with the pestiferous hum of flies. By day there would be the noise of the caravans and the purr of the sleek water; by night the friendly pilgrim camps, the brush fires of the wood-cutters; at times the roar of a lion in the jungle, and the snorting of the tethered asses. Over all the voice of the prophet prevailing.

"Repent ye, repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand . . . but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose, whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor and will gather the wheat unto his garner, but the chaff he will burn with a fire unquenchable.

"I have baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with fire and the holy spirit."

Among those who, hearing, went down to receive the rite of cleansing was the young man from Nazareth; as he went he felt the heavens opened

and the Spirit of God descend upon him; and as it were a voice saying, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased."

§

All the God-tales come straight out of the heart of man; all the devil-tales also.

There is a part of us which lies remote from the region of material sense, open to all manner of undetermined influences. We are torn by these things, exalted, cast down, informed, and illumined to a degree surpassing what comes to us through the conscious intelligence. But when we speak of them it can only be in terms shaped for us by the latest guess at the nature of the disturbance, God, demon, or the spirits of ancestors. The young man from Nazareth, as he passed under the Baptist's hand through the water of baptism, knew what sounded in his soul for the voice of God the Father. He was led by it up out of the Rift of Jordan into the Wilderness. But of all that happened to him there we know no more than can be conveyed in a tale he made of it, a kind of allegory of the soul's immaterial conflict in terms of devil and angels.

It was so in those days men spoke to one another of experiences that passed below the threshold of exterior sense. Doubtless when he told it, it was so understood, as a thing experienced rather than seen. Not for hundreds of years did the story of

the temptation put on the gross materiality under which the Middle Ages knew it.

That it was his most significant experience we gather from the fact that it was the only thing that ever happened to Jesus which he thought worth speaking about. That he spoke of this with such particularity as to impress it on all his disciples is our warrant for believing that nothing else out of the ordinary ever had happened to him. What he saw, what he lived through, what he heard talked about as a carpenter at Nazareth was so undistinguished a part of the community experience that we are free to restore it from the copious researches of scholarship. Behind this thin veil of parable we have his own account of the essential elements of his genius.

Here then is the story of the carpenter in the Wilderness as he told it. After he had heard sounding through all his soul the acknowledgment of his sonship, himself part and parcel of the divine being, he went up and out of the Ghor into the Wilderness of Judea between the brook Cherith and the vineyards of Engedi, a terrible blank land, treeless, spined with low shrubs from under which the adder starts. He was around and about in it forty days fasting. He saw vultures sailing and the blue wall of Moab through the mist of evaporation from the great salt sea—"smoke going up for ever"—all

opalescent in the unclouded light, but saw no man. He laid himself open to the sense the desert gives of being possessed, of begin held and occupied by personality and power. Forty days and nights the spirit led and eluded him, and at last he grappled with it. Then said the tempter, Jesus being faint with hunger, "If thou be the son of God command that these stones be made bread." And again, seeing he got nothing by that method, the devil set him on a high place, as it were the pinnacle of the temple, and bade him cast himself down, since if he were the true son of God the angels should have charge over him, lest he so much as dash his foot against a stone. Finally from a high mountain the devil showed him the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them, saying, "All these things will I give if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Answering out of the deep wells of scripture, the man from Nazareth answered his own soul.

He had gone into the desert a carpenter with the word of John in his ears and the call of God in his consciousness; he came out of it prophet and teacher. To know the full force in his life of the answer he found to the questing Spirit, we must know what went in with him other than John's doctrine. I do not mean what schooling, what human experiences, what things observed and noted among men, for of these he had no more than was common to scores

of other young men who went down to John's baptism. It was none of these things which enabled him to clear himself at the stroke of revelation from the old Hebrew notion of man apart from God as the sheep are apart from the shepherd, of another nature and kind from him. For Israel thought of God as a sheep thinks of a shepherd. One who led by green pastures, fed, fended, or destroyed as He thought good for them. But Jesus, from the first we hear of him, comes filled with the sense of divine kinship, possessed of it as a son is possessed of the attributes of a father—an idea so germane to us now that we can scarcely realize with what effect of the heavens being opened it burst upon him.

It was not, then, any question of the relationship between himself and God that drove him to the Wilderness. There is something still to seek for the clear understanding of the parable of the Temptations;—*Something* there was between Jesus and John, something between Jesus and his disciples, which was either so well understood as to require no explanation or so profoundly felt that it lay beyond the reach of expression. I find it in the one feature of the Hebrew religion which distinguishes it from all its contemporaries;—in the conviction of the reality of righteousness.

The cult of Jehovah had outlived on its own

ground the gods of Ninevah and Tyre, of Egypt and Babylon; it maintained itself in the face of dying Græco-Romanism by that one article of its faith which was never lost sight of even in its worst apostasy—namely, that ethical rightness is no mere matter of opinion, but a living principle. The pagan had no use whatever of his gods except in what they could do for him; he never, so to speak, knew exactly where to have them. In some fashion he recognized an essential element in Things, dung-heaps, orchards, fevers—which, if he could but put himself in harmony with it, could be "worked."

When it could no longer be worked in his favor he got him a new god amenable to another sort of persuasion. But Jehovah was the god of Israel conquering or Israel conquered. This point toward which we struggle so slowly with all our science, our knowledge of heredity, and the constitution of human society, was the common possession of Jesus and his people; the revelation of righteousness as a thing to be eternally sought after, whether one lost or won by it.

This, then, was what lies behind and renders intelligible the fragments of scripture with which Jesus met the importunities of his personal life, coming to him in the form of the arch-tempter on the mount of the Wilderness.

In the first and second of these we have a direct answer to two of the most vexed and mistaken problems of his name people. To the suggestion that he should appease the desires of his man-nature by causing stones to be made bread, Jesus had answered that man does not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God. It is impossible to think of this as presenting itself to the man from Nazareth as a personal problem only—the problem of youth with its hungry desires for food, a mate, houses, trappings. But whether settled for himself or humanity, the question was never reopened. This is no story of a plain man finding himself, but of a soul unselfed from the beginning, apprised of his power, sure of his high calling, seeking behind the material lack, the essential disharmony which his message was to heal. Socially minded as he showed himself to be, he must have faced here and struck out of his own course the futility of attempting to achieve the kingdom by the relief of immediate social discomfort. Hungry as his time was, sore with poverty and injustice and oppression, when he went back to it, it was not with any palliative, but with the keen sword of the spirit. The misery of his world rose up against him, assailed him through his great gift of compassion, threatened to engulf him; but always we see him striking clear of it, committing

himself to the Word with such confidence as a bird commits itself to the air or a great fish to the deep.

But if Jesus rejected the principle of direct relief as a means of bringing the kingdom to pass, he was even more explicit in his condemnation of direct political action as establishing it. For the devil in Jesus' time was no mere hoof-and-tail bogy, but that Lucifer whose seat was once in heaven. And what else can the worship of him mean in connection with the kingdom of this world and the power and glory of them, than the use of satanic means, political intrigue, jealousy, faction, conspiracy, by means of which the rebellious angels fell? We shall come closer than this to the mind of Jesus touching the social organization, but we shall get nothing more decisive than his, "Get thee behind me!"

For the second item of the adventure of a soul in the Wilderness there can be no interpretation possible except we begin with what sooner or later must be allowed to Jesus, that he was a mystic. In saying this no more is implied than is true in some degree of every one of us. It is to say that the larger half of him lay consciously in the region of which we have already had occasion to speak, the unmapped region of the subconsciousness. Your true mystic is one who lives at home in that country to which most of us repair infrequently on a visit, or

are snatched by compelling incidents of passion or suffering. The notion that mysticism savors somehow of impracticality leads us to deny its existence in ourselves, which amounts to a denial that there is anything in us which is immaterial or uncomprehended. To such as these it is a surprise to know that the states of mysticism preserve an orderly sequence and are accompanied by definite gains and powers. Such powers the man from Nazareth attained. To have endured this particular temptation he must already have been aware of them when he went up out of Jordan.

Almost the first we hear of Jesus on his return to Galilee, was as a healer of men's bodies and a reader of their minds. Such powers cannot be thought of as coming leaping to the demand; they are acquired by pains and labor. If, then, we concede that when Jesus went into the Wilderness he knew himself possessed of such capabilities, we have in the incident of the pinnacle from which he was to cast himself down, a symbol of the peculiar temptation of the gifted. To make himself safe, to make himself wondered at, set apart, this is the devil's bait for the saint and the adept. Whether or not this was what Jesus implied in his personal narrative, it is borne out by his whole attitude toward his special capacities. All through his career he displayed, in the use of his extraordinary gifts, a reti-

cence and sense of proportion unequaled among men of genius.

This was the fruit of the Wilderness, the subordination of bodily and material needs to the spiritual, based on the perception of the spiritual as the only reality; the consecration of gifts to service rather than to personal aggrandizement; the rejection of political action as a means of attaining the desired social equilibrium. If this were not the implicit meaning of the parable it was at least a thing achieved within the scope of his personality. Throughout the remainder of his life he is plainly seen so to direct his own operations. For in this he excelled all the saints, in his spiritual efficiency. What he had determined on the mountain he went forth to preach in Galilee.

With great love hast thou loved us,
O Lord our God.
And with much overflowing pity hast thou pitied us,
Our father and our king.
For the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest them the statutes of life,
Have mercy upon us!
Enlighten our eyes in the law;
cause our hearts to cleave to thy commandments;
unite our hearts to love and fear thy name;
and we shall not be put to shame.
World without end.
For thou art a God who preparest salvation;
and thou hast chosen us from among all nations and tongues;
and hast in truth brought us nearer to thy great name.
Selah!
That we may lovingly praise thee and thy unity.
Blessed be the Lord who in love chose his people Israel!

[A prayer which was part of the synagogue service during the time of Jesus.]

II

OF this Herod against whom John inveighed we shall see enough to warrant some description. A Jew by religion, Greek in culture, though with a touch of Semitic magnificence, Roman by affiliation; handsome, undisciplined, perfumed, wily, he no doubt deserved the epithet of Fox, which the man of Nazareth afterward applied to him. Fearing Rome a little and his constituents as much as rulers of the Jews have always feared them, he nevertheless claims a greater share of our attention than either of the other sons of Herod the Great, among whom his kingdom was divided.

Archelaus, Ethnarch of Idumea, Judea and Samaria, came into direct conflict with the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, was worsted by them, deposed and superseded by a procurator under the hand of the Emperor. Philip on the north, touching the borders of Galilee, loved peace and got it, and got nothing else; but if Herod, called Antipas, Tetrarch of Galilee, were judged less objectionable than his father, it was because his restricted field gave him fewer opportunities for getting himself disliked.

Of those that he had it cannot be said that he neglected any of them.

On the present occasion he was discovering himself in the irritating position of a man who has flouted society and the gods on the grounds of a justifying passion, and finds that neither the gods nor society has accepted his justification. During a recent visit to Rome he had become enamoured of his brother's wife, whom he had brought away with him; whereupon Aretas, King of Arabia, father of his legal consort, assaulted his southern border. It was while his affairs were at this pass that John arose, shaking out the banner of prophetic denunciation.

Evidently those who accepted his moral conclusions judged John competent to deal with the situation. The man from Nazareth, though made one of his adherents by the rite of baptism, passed to his own country without any attempt to support the Baptist's attack upon existing conditions. If from the mount of temptation he had seen the thin line of the legionaries fumbling the dry passes of the Arabian border, or at the ford of Jordan detachments going down from the garrison at Capernaum to eke out the Tetrarch's slender resources, it waked in him no impulse of resistance to the established order. Wrapt still in his personal revelation, he came up out of the Rift into Galilee.

From the hills of Nazareth one sees the ships of the Empire low like a flock of gulls on the rim of the Mediterranean; below him the oleanders are pink against the whitewashed walls, and blunt, dark oaks overhang the strips of tillage. A little town, a butt, a Jack Dullard of a town among the smart new cities of Tiberias and Capernaum with their Greek theaters and Roman garrisons; a little, old, shave-head, bewigged Hebrew housewife of a town, to judge by the proverb, which suckled a prophet and did not know him. But at Capernaum converged all the roads that went over the Bridge: new Roman roads, Phœnician coast roads, the oldest roads in the world between Egypt and Asia; and the traffic of the world went by on them. Herod rebuilt Tiberias and had a palace there; he fortified Sepphoris; village touched village. Here, as to a theater more befitting his mission than hill-bent Nazareth, Jesus moved, new-born from the Wilderness. It is believed he had a house there, but of a shop and the appurtenances of his trade there is no mention.

On omissions slight as this a world sick with the sloth of the Middle Ages made of him a kind of respectable mendicant. One finds him, however, going about with other householders, decent folk owning their own business, employing hired servants, paying their own scores, and obliged to ask no man's

leave if they chose to lay aside their work for a season to go a-proselyting. It is of record that the Emperor Domitian, having accepted the Davidic descent for the family of Nazareth, sent for what remained of them, fearful lest they set up a belated claim of royalty. There were brought to him two grandsons of Jude, the brother of Jesus, who showed him the callouses of their hands and confessed to owning about forty acres of land, from which they made their living and the taxes. Does the possession of that forty acres in any way account for the freedom with which the brother of Jude drew upon the sowing and the reaping, the wine-press and the orchard, for the figure of the Kingdom? He drew, in fact, far less on his own trade and his father's. Too much has been made of his being a carpenter—every good Jew taught his son a trade; Paul was a tent-maker, and *he* stood before kings and was versed in pagan philosophies.

Nor was there anything in the conditions in Galilee at the time from which to draw the pathetic figure of poverty. Galilee of the Gentiles was a great hostelry; trade flourished, olive-orchards thronged the slopes, vines crowded in the valleys. Here the Semitic strain had received a free admixture of Greek and Phœnician; the speech of its people was fluent, idiomatic. Moreover, it was a time of great leisure, every seventh day was an idle day, every seventh

year a Sabbath. The people read much in the only books they had, the Law and the Prophets, and speculated freely. Like all thinking people, they were turbulent. Recently Judas the Gaulonite headed an attempt, of amazing courage but little descretion, to break the Roman power, holding the payment of tribute little less than slavery. Two thousand of Herod's soldiers revolted. It was a time not so much of lack as of enormous social and economic disequilibrium. In short, a time very much like our own. Across the active material life of its three million population the beauty of the land struck like an inspiration. Hot harvesters lifted their foreheads to the wind that poured down from Hermon; on the lake sails glittered.

It was a fat land, but rebellious, humming with Zelots, Baptists, Essenes—a people jeoparding their life unto death. All in all an excellent field for hope to flourish in, such a hope as the man from Nazareth carried back from the Rift of Jordan, of a reconstructed social order in which imposition should wither and servitude be replaced by service. A fat land and well watered—but the taxes, the taxes! It is not prolonged underfeeding that makes revolutionists, but enforced compliance in the overfeeding of others. And here now was this new war of Herod's with its levies and impositions!

In the midst of all this Jesus went about quietly

fishing for men. He found Peter, and Andrew, his brother, and the sons of Zebedee, owners of fishing-smacks on Gennesaret. One thinks of him going about, tall and personable—a figure, at least, of which none ever complained of any lack—free striding; and a Jew, mind you, a high-nosed Jew with eyes at once veiled and piercing, long-haired and bearded. The hair and the beard have become so fixed in tradition that, whether or no, we must accept them. No doubt it was one of the first pieces of personal information that began to be circulated about him; and they go with the temperament. One could have found him oftenest about the water-front when the fishing-fleet came in, clad in a long undergarment of linen and over it a woolen mantle, brown and white or blue, girded with leather, and always with the turban. When he stood up in the synagogue of a Sabbath to expound the scriptures, the linen garment girded about the breast, the mantle would be all white with a fringe upon it, and the long ends of the turban floating over the hair and the mantle. In some such guise he went about Capernaum, sowing the Word and waiting. And at last the thing for which he waited happened.

Herod, vexed at his failure to scatter the armies of Aretas, and no doubt egged on by Herodias, who must have been in a fury to have her name bruited about at the crossroads as an adulteress, had taken

John and shut him up in prison. He shut him up in that stark fortress which has the Dead Sea on the west and the dead sand and black rock of Machærus on all other sides of it; but in the face of John's popularity he lacked hardihood to make any other end of the matter.

There had been doubts and disaffections in Herod the Great's time, because of his being no true Hebrew, but an Idumean. Herod characteristically has been reported as burning up the books of genealogy in the temple, proving himself a Jew by putting it beyond the possibility of anybody's disproving it. But this double fear and vexation of Herod Antipas is the true mark of Israel. John as a stirrer-up of the people must be treated as a nuisance; as a prophet he was to be venerated. Herod accomplished both by putting him in jail and afterward giving his disciples access to him. So for a time the voice of the Wilderness was stilled, but no sooner had the news of John's imprisonment penetrated to the rich lake region of lower Galilee than it rose again in new accents. It was the voice of Jesus beginning to preach openly and say, "Repent; repent; for the Kingdom of God is at hand."

§

The rise of any great man in a community is always an astonishment. His essential processes are secret or obscured by ebullitions which present

themselves as offenses in the general eye. And the general eye and ear are so completely filled with their own affairs; that which finally disconcerts them and claims anew their attention is the least essential part of the message which the great have to deliver. The interest of the crowd, like the snake, darts at the thing moving.

About the end of the latter rains, when it seemed certain that the Baptist was not to be let preach again, the young carpenter, who had recently come from Nazareth, stood up in the synagogue at Capernaum and began to expound the scriptures. There had been the customary singing of psalms, the prayer beginning, "*With great love hast Thou loved us . . .*" and so down to "*Blessed be the Lord Who in love chose His people Israel.*" After that the *methurgeman* read from the Law, reading in Hebrew, in which language alone the scriptures were permitted to be written, and translating into the vernacular. There was a little light burning always in the synagogue since the captivity of Babylon, a tiny oil-fed flicker before the place where the Law was kept. It was a symbol, that little flame, of the little light that was still in Israel, feebly burning in the midst of a decadent formalism.

The light burned, the reader closed the roll of the Law, the leaders of the synagogues in the chief seats, facing the congregation, looked down

their beards at their hands folded upon their knees; the women stirred faintly in the jalousied galleries; and the carpenter rose and sat in the seat of the reader. There was nothing out of the ordinary in this. Whosoever felt the Spirit of the Lord upon him was privileged to speak in the synagogue, but it was a privilege taken seriously. Perhaps nothing would have come of this particular preaching had there not been a man present afflicted with one of those forms of mental disorder which were ranked as possession by an unclean spirit. Roused by the unfamiliar figure, by something impressive and pertinent in the preacher's manner, the spirit cried out at him. Did it really cry: "I know thee who thou art, Thou Holy One of Israel!" guessing in some dim way, as the afflicted do, the man's power and destiny, or was it merely a disordered outbreak recognizing the speaker as one seen too often with Zelots and Baptists, fomenters of social discontent? "*I* know you, Jesus of Nazareth. Let us alone!" The old cry of the social unawakened. "What have we to do with thee? Thou art come to upset conditions and invite Rome to destroy us." Certainly the words would bear that interpretation. So they sounded yesterday around a soap-box on the street corner. And there were men in that congregation who could remember in the outbreak of Judas the Gaulonite the punishment Rome meted to revolu-

tionists. What fixed their attention on this occasion was that Jesus rebuked the interruption as the cry of uncleanness and commanded the evil spirit out of the afflicted. They began to wonder what doctrine this could be, and to observe among themselves that he taught not as the scribes, but as one having authority.

It appears that immediately following the synagogue service Jesus went home with Simon Peter to dinner, and found Peter's wife's mother sick of a fever. Possibly she had had a draught from a practising physician, compounded of three black spiders collected from a tomb, and an Egyptian herb or two, but it is much more likely that some neighbor had practised for her the Talmudic remedy of an iron knife tied by a braid of the sufferer's hair to a thorn-bush while reciting the first five verses of the third chapter of Exodus. Now comes the carpenter, taking her by hand, lifting her up, and immediately the fever left her.

In order to understand how the news of such healing would spread with almost frenzied hope to the afflicted, one must pause a moment over the pitiful inefficiency of the healing art of that period. For in that day the practice of medicine had been corrupted from the primitive knowledge of cleanliness and simples to a mass of superstition. The cause of all sickness was a mystery, and it was believable

that cures could be equally mysterious. The poor were particularly in evil case; for failing eyes there was no relief, for deformities no appliances, for anguish no twilight sleep of anesthetics, only neglect and avoidance and the unendurable pest of flies. Associated, as it had always been, with all manner of hocus-pocus, mental healing was still more reliable than the pharmacopœia of the time. Between touching the robe of a prophet and a dose of mummy powder as a specific of internal disorders, the chances of recovery were immeasurably in favor of the prophet.

As this is the first record of healing, it is probable that the exercise of it had come upon Jesus as a mere incident in the rush of spiritual certainty which had launched him upon his ministry. Filled with the power of his revelation, he had overflowed with it in the direction of the immediate human impulse and was as little prepared as any one for what followed. That evening, as soon as the sun was set and the Sabbath inhibition taken away, from every house in the neighborhood sick were brought forth and laid in the narrow street about Simon Peter's door. Here, as afterward, the man from Nazareth yielded to the appeal of human misery, but he was more than troubled by it.

No doubt he saw himself, as from this time we must think of him, as having raised the cry of uni-

versal deliverance, and hearing it drowned in the wails of immediate material anguish. As soon as it was light, without disturbing the household, he slipped away out of town; he traversed the crescent plain of Gennesaret between the stone walls and the hedges of prickly pear, and sought the treeless foothill ridges. It was spring of the year, and thick dew, called the blessing of Hermon, lay on everything. Palms at Tiberias showed darkly against the polished lake, the olive-orchards turned the silvered under side of leaves. White fire broke out along the orchard row, anemones scarlet in the crevices, larkspurs, blue-eyed veronica, and the hillside grass all swimming with the silken sails of poppies. Binding all the fields together ran the wild mustard, and the birds of the air lodged in its branches.

Past it all he went to the windy ridges from which one had the sea and the white slope of Hermon, with the Jordan roaring to the deepest rift in the world far below him. Here he prayed, and here, when the day was somewhat advanced, Peter found him with the word that all men sought him. But when all was said Jesus would not go back into Capernaum.

"Let us go into the next town that I may preach there," he insisted; "for this purpose came I forth." Perhaps he still hoped to avoid the swift congregation of the miserable which clogged about his

knees thenceforth wherever he moved; he was all bent upon his message. It was in this fashion, accompanied by Peter and those that were with him, he began to go about through the cities of Galilee, teaching in the synagogues, John being in prison, Herod in jeopardy with Aretas, Tiberius on the seat of Rome, and the destruction of Jerusalem some forty years distant.

He shall thrust out sinners from the inheritance;
he shall utterly destroy the proud spirit of the sinners,
as a potter's vessel with a rod of iron shall he break in pieces all their substance.

And he shall gather together a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness:
And he shall judge the tribe of the people that hath been sanctified by the Lord his God.

For he shall not put his trust in the horse and rider and bow;
nor shall he multiply unto himself gold and silver for war;
nor by ships shall he gather confidence in the day of battle.

Tending the flock of the Lord with faith and righteousness;
and he shall suffer none among them to faint in their pasture.
In holiness shall he lead them all, and there shall be no pride among them that any should be oppressed.

[Verses from a hymn of the Pharisees, sung during the time of Jesus and influencing the Messianic ideal. From the translation of Ryee and James.]

III

NO people can hear absolutely a new thing. The message that is delivered to them is one thing; the message heard is already half in the hearts of the hearers.

Jesus did not invent the phrase Kingdom of Heaven; what he did contrive in the course of twelve or fourteen months' teaching was to give to it entirely new meanings. As it stood in the heart of Israel it was a vision of a social order in which governorship should be of God and all temporal authority superseded by the Word. Working on this, the imagination of the time produced prodigies. More and more as the Gentile world pressed upon Jewry, it had to be accounted for; how could the Kingdom come to a people knowing not Jehovah? Opinions differed as to whether Rome should be cast into outer darkness or be permitted to feel upon her neck the heel of Jewish autonomy. It might be that the Davidic line should be restored as a mere symbol of governance, or there would be twelve thrones of the twelve princes of the House of Israel. Differences of this kind were not doctrinal; they af-

forded a pleasant variation to speculation. As the tension of social and political unrest which ended in the revolt and fall of Jerusalem increased, they took on a prophet cast. It was expected that swords should fall from heaven and come flaming in the midst of men, the earth should yawn and all the widening rifts be filled with dead. The apocalypse, the vision of Judgment, was a favorite form of literature of the period.

There is a general impression that prophetic writing had ceased in Israel from the time of the old testament to the gospels; but in fact there was a continuous but diminishing flow of it. The Jews had no profane history. All their writings were accounts of God in His dealings with them, either as individuals or as a nation. Books of this kind, bringing the story of Israel down to his own time, were in circulation, and had been read by Jesus; he quoted from them; from the book of Enoch he took the title which he very early began to apply to himself, The Son of Man.

But if no importance was attached to individual conceptions of the Kingdom and the manner of its inauguration, all Jewry was divided even to the sword and the spirit about the proper preparation for it. Theoretically Israel was a people united in the law, one in worship; actually it was split into sects and factions over minutiæ of fulfilment. There

was that old quarrel between the Samaritans and the Judeans concerning the mount upon which God should be worshiped, which had resulted, in the time of Cyrenius, in the Samaritans being disbarred from the temple. There were at least two ascetic orders, the Nazarites and Essenes—of whom the first were as old as the time of the prophets—men dedicate to God from birth and sometimes before it, drinking no wine, celibate, cutting neither the hair nor the beard. They walked apart and sought out God in their own hearts.

The Essenes lived in communities, repudiated marriage for themselves, but adopted children, prayed before and after meals, wore white, and had a sense of caste which made the touch of lower orders a defilement. They made no sacrifice except of their desires, devoted themselves to good works and practised healing. They had community houses in all the large cities. It is not unlikely that as a lad the carpenter's son had gone to school to them, a kind of friar's school where one learned to read the scriptures and be truthful, chaste, and obedient.

Though they served to color the religious thought of the time, in numbers both Nazarites and Essenes were inconsiderable. The great body of the Jews were either Pharisees or Sadducees. These last were mainly of aristocratic and priestly families.

They held a practical monopoly of the Sanhedrin and the priestly offices, repudiating life after death, disbelieving God as far as anybody of that time dared disbelieve Him. Opportunists, bent upon maintaining their own rights and privileges, they were sensitive to popular disorder lest it give the Romans an excuse for removing them.

Against these were the Pharisees, the aristocracy of moral assumption. So successful had they been in putting over on the masses the conviction of their superior virtue that as patterns they had largely superseded the priesthood; in company with the Scribes, those scholarly and pedantic searchers of the scriptures, they set, as it were, the fashions in moral behavior. Their fields of action were chiefly the Rabbinical schools, where they taught that there is an immortal vigor in man which can be nourished to rewards or punishments in the life beyond this. Over-nice in their liturgical observances, they were nevertheless the conservers of what was left of the ancient Jewish integrity.

In addition to these, in Galilee there were two fire-new vessels of social discontent: the following of the Baptist, among whom we reckon the man from Nazareth, and the adherents of Judas, called the Zelot, a considerable band who went mad with the abuse of authority under Gessius Florius, the procurator, who were reported not to value death nor any kind

of dying so long as they might call no man lord. They "had an inviolable attachment to liberty," and for the rest they agreed with the moral teachings of the Pharisees.

Over all was the hand of Rome, penetrating even into the dreams of men, so that they could not so much as imagine Heaven except in the terms of kingdoms and authority.

Into all this welter of formalism and self-seeking, formalism and piety, into attempted Hellenic culture and hole-in-the-corner asceticism the man from Nazareth poured out his message, to meet and contend with it, and be set back in its course like a stream pouring into the sea, finally to mix with it so that never any more could its meaning be traced clear until men should cease seeking at the meeting of the waters in the muddled Word, but turn back to the immortal source of the Spirit.

It is a mistake, however, to think of Jesus at the outset of his career as opposed to all this; he was an inextricable part of it. Himself an avowed Baptist, there is some reason to believe that he held himself *Nazar*, vowed, set apart for God; he borrowed freely from the practices of the Essenes. It is probable that the family at Nazareth was pharisaical in the best sense, leaning a little to the too scrupulous fulfilment of the law rather than to a neglect of it. His brother James, at least, turned out a great pietist,

and, though he suffered a martyr's death, is described as wearing callouses on his knees praying in the temple for the spread of Christianity.

At least one of the disciples was a Zelot, and probably all of them Baptists. One guesses that a certain aloofness discernible in the beginning of his ministry was actuated by the desire of Jesus to free himself from all these tangled and entangling lines of influence.

None of these, however, gave him so personal a difficulty as the effort to prevent his teaching from being swamped in the immediate human demand for material relief. After the opening of his ministry in Capernaum he made a tour of the neighboring cities, preaching in the synagogues and suffering similar interruptions.

A leper, to whom knowledge of the new prophet's healing power had come, followed him across the fields, protesting, "If thou wilt thou canst make me clean." It was not an extravagant confidence. The liturgical detail to be observed by a leper who has been cleansed is too complete not to warrant the conclusion that mental healing of leprosy was possible, even frequent, in Palestine. Although Jesus avoided healing, it is not of record that, once the afflicted succeeded in gaining his attention, he ever refused relief. On this occasion the faith of the leper and the compassion of the prophet were equal;

but the caution to tell no man broke down before the natural flow of gratitude.

As the healed leper returned from showing himself to the priest, and performing those things for his own relief and the protection of the community as prescribed by Moses, the news burst from him. It spread through all the countryside and forthwith the preacher was engulfed again in the rising tide of human anguish. It drove him out from the cities to the hill places where only the strong could come to him. Shepherds heard him as they went with their flocks white from the spring shearing to feed on the plains of Esdraelon, wood-cutters going up toward Hermon, and a continual trickle from the towns, for, says the recorder, "all men were in expectation," straining toward the last struggle for Jewish autonomy. He visited Nazareth, preaching the acceptable year of the Lord, and discovered that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country, for, said the Nazarenes, "Is not this the carpenter?" Luke says they hustled him, but I find this incompatible with his ironic tolerance. The pinch of bitterness was yet to come.

It was after some weeks of this, when he returned to Capernaum, that there occurred the first of those encounters with established order which led on to his destruction and the final elevation of his message above the accidents of flesh. The house to which

he had come, not his own, but possibly Peter's, was so thronged with those who wished to hear and so besieged from the narrow street without, that it was impossible for late comers to have access to him. But there was a man sick of the palsy whose desire for healing was equaled by his faith in the man from Nazareth to accomplish it. If they could only get at him! By this times Jesus' avoidance of publicity must have become a matter of general knowledge, for the sick man's friends took no chance of meeting the prophet on the public highway. They ascended by way of one of the flat, shoulder-to-shoulder houses, and from the roof let down the bed through the open, middle court which is the distinctive feature of Oriental dwellings.

Now was the wished-for moment when the prophet, moved by their faith and taking compassion on the sick of the palsy, should say, "Take up thy bed and walk," but, lying there with all eyes upon him, the expectant sufferer heard a thing even more amazing. Said Jesus, "Thy sins be forgiven thee."

It is possible that this was more germane to the case than appears from the meager account of it; whether or no this palsy was one of those nervous collapses which are the effect of excess, and had its seat deeper in the man's soul than in his quaking body, cannot now be more than suggested. Whether the remission of sin was addressed to the sufferer

or beyond him to the waiting audience, it did strike across and reached the Scribes that, with how much of honest inquiry who can guess, had turned out to hear the new prophet. A Scribe was in some sort a councilor of the law when one of the parties to the case was God Almighty. He was versed in all minutiæ of the scriptures and in nice interpretations. It was from the Scribes that the Pharisees derived authority for all that punctilious observance by the exercise of which they assumed the virtues that no longer sprang spontaneously from their barren breasts. By a process which may be observed going on in our own day among legal interpreters, the work of the Scribes had narrowed to the business of ascertaining just how far a man may push the letter of the law in his favor without incurring any of its penalties. Now as they heard this so quietly uttered and so extraordinary statement, there ran a whisper from one to another: "Who can forgive sins but God— Oh, blasphemy!" and there was a great wagging of turbans.

"Think you," said the man from Nazareth, "it is easier to say thy sins be forgiven thee, or to say, arise, take up thy bed and walk?"

And getting no answer from them, he continued, "That you may know that the son of man *has* power on earth to forgive sins, I say unto thee, arise, take up thy bed and go thy way into thine house."

As the sick man arose and went forth before them all, carrying his bed, there went forth with him the most revolutionary doctrine which had yet been pronounced among men. *The son of man has power on earth to forgive sins.* For observe that up to this time Jesus had not spoken of himself as the Appointed One, nor assumed for himself any character but that of preacher of an urgent word. There is no evidence that in the title, Son of Man, by which he referred to himself, he meant to express anything but the merging of his personality in his social function; to speak not as Jesus of Nazareth, but as heir of all the ages, a fraction of that close-woven human fabric of which he at all times warmly felt himself a part. Later in his career he was to come back to this point and reiterate what was here so lightly indicated, the *community* of power, equally accessible to himself and his disciples—"Greater things than these shall ye do"—a power which even during his lifetime, under his instruction, they began to exercise. "Man," he said, "*hath* power. . . ."

It was no new thing for one man, by some process not yet fully understood, to reach across to another and so stir up the centers of his being as to set back the whole course of nature and effect a profound reorganization of the physical forces. That such a thing can be done is a common and ancient piece of human knowledge. But from times older than

Israel it has been recognized that deep personal disaster can be traced to violations of laws which lie beyond the minor infringements of bodily illness and are amenable only to the forgiveness of offended deity. There is always the chance of evading the consequences of such a violation by persuading the gods, or by setting them one against another, but a small chance and exceedingly uncertain. Pagan and Hebrew alike brooded under a sense of inescapable destiny.

The doctrine that plain man could by plain man his brother be released from spiritual bondage fell upon soil so unprepared that twenty centuries of harrowing have produced but a few thin sprouts from it. By what power resident in man, by what paths it is attained, was to be developed as a later part of his teaching. The disciples of Jesus perceived it only as a cloud on the eastern horizon. There was the thing before them in its concrete example of the man with the palsy, but the principle in its utter simplicity escaped them as the perfect pearl eludes the hand by its roundness.

It is impossible, however, to twist out of this incident any other meaning than that such release should pass from man to man. At that time Jesus gave no evidence of thinking of himself as other than his companions except in the authority and singleness of his calling; all that he professed was the com-

plete interpenetration of what we have agreed to call matter and spirit. It was a simpler and more direct form of what society begins to practise fumblingly, like a novice with a new instrument,—the freeing of man by man: the criminal from the compulsion of his criminal nature, the obsessed from his evil obsession, the incompetent from his incompetency, and, Heaven save the mark! the poor from his poverty. About the much more advanced movement to free man from the violation of his physical nature by means of the spirit that is in him, I say nothing. It is among us in a form to admit of personal investigation on every side. We are tolerant of it as in their day were the Scribes and the Pharisees, and tolerant for the same reason; we know that it has been done, but we are unfamiliar with and suspicious of the instrument. It is reported by one John Mark, who is described as having written down all that he could remember of what Peter told him of this occasion, that the launching of this revolutionary truth was accompanied with nothing more than a general amazed comment on the part of the Capernaumites that never in their lives had they seen things done in this fashion.

§

By this time, which could not have been more than six months after his baptism, Jesus appears to have broadened the scope of preparation for the

kingdom without having lost his sense of its immanence. On the way to his own house after the incident of the man sick of the palsy, he passed the office of the local tax-collector; one of those minor officials to whom the Roman imposition was farmed out after a fashion which rendered Rome so obnoxious to conquered nations. It was an office hated not only for what it was, but for what it stood for in the community; the constant menace of life and liberty in an age when death, mutilation, and the selling of whole families into slavery were adjudged not too severe punishments for delinquents. This Matthew, who from the description of him as "sitting at the receipt of customs" may have been a collector of imposts between Galilee and Perea which lay along the eastern shore of the lake, had not yet been corrupted by his office, for the next we hear of him he is sitting at supper with Jesus and others of his following.

It was the custom in Oriental countries, in the absence of universities and public forums, for learned men to gather about them groups of disciples, sitting for disquisition on the housetops or at meat in the still, cool upper chambers. This was the practice of rabbis in Israel, only in Israel there was nothing recognized as learning which did not concern itself with God and human conduct. Gatherings of this sort at the house of Jesus in Capernaum

must have been of another sort than the slow, ordered discussions of Hillel and Shamai at Jerusalem, meetings full of hope and high-keyed expectation, looking toward the kingdom.

Simon the Zelot would be there, the impetuous Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, nicknamed the Sons of Thunder, those impatient souls who would have called down fire from heaven on the villages which would not receive the prophet on his journey up to Jerusalem. There were also in that company Matthew the publican, whose business so discredited him with society that his evidence would not be taken in court, and other doubtful characters; sitting in the head of the board, the carpenter, witty, genial, sanguine, seeing Heaven in their midst and the great day so close at hand that they would scarcely have gone through the cities of Israel before it should be upon them. Whatever it was that went on in the house of Jesus, it was exciting enough or important enough for all Capernaum to be set gossiping over it.

"How is it," carped the Scribes and Pharisees, "that this man sits eating and drinking with low fellows, publicans and sinners?" One suspects that the Pharisees had rather take up the new preacher in the beginning—for a prophet might arise—and it was more than their sense of prophetic propriety which was slighted. But Jesus when he heard of it

sent them word that he had come not to call the righteous, but sinners. Said he, "They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick," one of those flashes of gentle irony so characteristic of him, for if there was any class in Israel that was sick unto death with formalism it was the Scribes and Pharisees. But another thing troubled them, and in this there was no doubt a measure of honest questioning. "John fasted," they said, "and the Pharisees fast, but why not thy disciples?"

There must be a special dispensation somewhere for those poor souls who would like to know the truth, if only they could recognize it in an unfamiliar garment. Said Jesus, "Can the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? . . ." Also he said that no man seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment, lest the new piece tear away that to which it is sewed and the rent is made worse, and no man putteth new wine in old bottles, lest the bottles burst and the wine is spilled and the bottles marred. It was in this fashion that he placed the definite mark of modernism between himself and the Baptist. Whether or not he recognized the fullness of his message and its revolutionary character, he at least understood that it was a mistake to follow John in attempting to pour it into the old Levitical mold. Jesus came preaching the Kingdom but with new meanings

and new manners. His vision on that point was perfectly clear, but the circumstance was too much for him. With his new cloth the ancient fabric of Hebraism was torn asunder, he poured his new wine into as many new bottles as could be found, and still the bottles burst.

Extra-canonical sayings of Jesus from early Christian writings, probably genuine, or founded on true sayings.

In whatsoever things I discover you, in these will I also judge you.—Justin Martyr.

Ask the great things and the small shall be added unto you; ask the heavenly and the earthly shall be added unto you.—Clement of Alexander.

On account of them that are infirm I was infirm, and on account of them that hunger did I hunger, and on account of them that thirst did I thirst.—Origen.

On the same day he beheld one working on the Sabbath and said unto him, O man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.—Codex Bezoe.

IV

WE shall have to go back to this remedial use of the Spirit as between man and man, called forgiveness of sins, but we must have more to go upon. From the time that Jesus came under the influence of John to his declaration of a superior freedom of personal conduct, the sequence of events is clear, but the preaching is lost to us. That so little is recalled as being definitely placed in this period would imply that his audiences were small and his converts few in number. But at Capernaum he was again the object of public attention. He met here with that most coveted distinction of the revolutionist, opposition from the established order.

Both opposition and interest centered about these two points: his neglect of Levitical formalities and his work as a healer. It was not that he failed to appreciate the value of ceremonial—there is a custom of blessing bread before breaking it which is mentioned often enough to point the inference that he introduced it, and we find him paying the temple tax and keeping the great festivals of Israel with due observance—but he went through the fabric

of pharisaical formality like a lion of Judah through a net set to catch fieldfares. It was only when he felt it close to the lesser personalities of his disciples that he stooped to justification. That was how we find him about the first of June of the year that began his ministry, walking with his disciples of a Sabbath morning, probably between village and village, that he might preach at the morning and evening services, and passing on their way the fields of standing corn now whitening for the harvest. Perhaps the time was all too short for the customary midday meal, or the zeal of the preacher sometimes outran the nature of the apostles, for they, being ahungered, broke off and threshed out between thumb and palm the wheaten ears and ate them.

Now a man might not be condemned under the law for failing to fast, but threshing grain on the Sabbath . . . here at last they had him! Here again Jesus defined for his accusers those principles of spiritual efficiency which determined all his conduct. "The Sabbath," said he, "was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." He also answered them a little more in their own key with a scriptural reference to what David did in the matter of the shewbread in the temple. It is doubtful, however, if the exposition cleared the subject levitically any more than it confused humanly with this easy comparison of kings and carpenters.

Silenced they were, but not answered, for we read that a little later, possibly on the same Sabbath or the next one, he was teaching in the synagogue, and a man with a withered hand, posted there for that purpose, asked of him a healing. Fully aware of an intention to trap him into Sabbath-breaking, for which in any notable degree he might be brought before the authorities, Jesus turned them face to face again with the spirit of that law by the letter of which they hoped to snare him. "What man of you that have a sheep fall into a pit on the Sabbath will he not lay hold to lift it out? . . . and is not man more than a sheep?" There was more from the same source, but the Pharisees looked down their noses, unable to refute the argument and unwilling to admit it. It is the first time of record that Jesus showed himself indignant with his audience; reaching out his hand to the stricken man, he lifted him from the pit of his own affliction.

We who are the inheritors of generations of prejudice against the class who opposed Jesus, need to remind ourselves that there is somewhat to be said in extenuation. The Pharisees were a people doing the best they knew to fulfil what they recognized as the supreme obligation—the will of Jehovah. Much that they did was done in anticipation of that closer union of God and Israel which was to be affected in the person of the Messiah. They served

God as much as they were able and expected God to honor the alliance. Now here was this man of the common people, putting all their strained conformities to shame, and yet distinguished by God with the isignia of a true prophet. Not that they cared what the carpenter could do, but if this man were truly a prophet or, as began to be whispered, the Messiah, then had God passed them over. How the slight must have rankled! Would they believe it of God after all their meticulous service? Not they! Some other explanation must be found of the extraordinary phenomenon, and one was not long in forthcoming.

Shortly after the healing of the withered hand on the Sabbath, and possibly to escape the controversy stirred up by it, Jesus set sail upon Gennesaret for the opposite leopard-colored shore of Gadara. Here the hills broke off abruptly, full of caves, with little ledges of limestone running into the lake and little spits of sand breaking the shore. Swineherds fed their despised charges hereabouts; the caves were inhabited by lepers and the insane. What occurred there has come to us so mixed with popular superstition of the time that it is impossible to thresh out from it the modicum of fact, and perhaps not important. It was what people thought had happened that affected their attitude toward the teacher. It seems, however, that the man from

Nazareth was immediately recognized and appealed to by one of the most unfortunate of that unfriended class, the demoniacs. It was so that all manner of mental and nervous derangements were described, as possession by evil spirits, a belief that Jesus seems to have shared. One such very pitiful case was healed here on the Gadarean shore under circumstances that excited the utmost superstitious awe of him, so much so that deputations came out from the cities round about and entreated him to depart out of their coasts.

It was this incident and some others like it which gave rise to the charge which was presently brought against him, that he cast out demons by the help of the very Powers of Darkness. The logic of Jesus that a devil casting out devils would be a house divided against itself, served not only to silence opposition for the moment, but to augment the popular favor. All Galilee was aflame. Samaria heard of him. He seems almost to have been constrained to accepting the significance of his healing at the common estimate, without, however, losing his remarkable poise and sanity.

The daughter of a centurion fell sick—at Capernaum, no doubt, where a garrison was stationed—and the Roman, backed by the good word of his Hebrew neighbors, dared appeal to Jesus. By the time, however, that the prophet had reached the

house the child's condition was such that the rumor of her death touched with hysteria the ill-balanced Oriental household. To an impostor such an opportunity would have been irresistible. Dead certainly; and now behold a miracle! But the man from Nazareth, quietly reassuring, passed through the crowds of excited domestics to the inner chamber. "She is not dead," said he, "but sleeping." Having taken her by the hand and roused her, he bade them in a perfectly common-sense manner give her something to eat and say no more about it. Out of this, which could not be kept entirely private, the common tongue multiplied wonders. The tide of enthusiasm rose and rolled over all parts of Judea, even as far as Idumea. It reached John in his lonely prison; it rose almost to his own head.

Crowds poured into Capernaum from the surrounding country, they thronged him in the street if they might so much as touch his garment. Wherever he moved the sick were laid out along his path, happy even to feel his shadow in passing. The tide of popular appreciation rose higher; it overflowed the narrow streets of the lake town and reached even to the hills of Nazareth. His people heard of his doings and came down to take him home with them. Said they, "He is beside himself." In nothing so much have they confirmed the family status; it was so exactly like what would be expected of the

leading family in a small town who had borne on their branches the greatest radical of their time. It is the last word as to their entire respectability. But Jesus made himself inaccessible in the midst of his disciples, and when word was brought to him that his brethren were without, seeking for him, he answered them, saying, "Who is my mother or my brethren?" And looking round on those which sat about him, he said: "Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God the same is my brother and my sister and my mother."

It must have been about this time that John called two of his disciples and sent to him, saying, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for anotner?"

Now he that should come was the long-prophesied Messiah, the Anointed One, who was to restore the kingdom to Israel, concerning whose advent John had borne witness. It was a natural and inevitable question. It had been asked of John, who had himself been under no illusion as to the nature of his own calling. It was probably already being asked under the breath by believers of Jesus. From the answer he returned to the Baptist's inquiry, it seems likely that Jesus might have asked it in all humility of himself. For his answer when it came, was neither an affirmation nor a denial: "Go your way," he said,

"tell John what things ye have seen and heard, how the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, and to the poor the gospel is preached!"

All this is immensely interesting in view of what Jesus is known elsewhere to have said and indicated as to the relative place of his power to heal in his work as a teacher. From the beginning he seems to have regarded it as incident to his career rather than an integral part of it. He never ascribed it to any other power than the uninterrupted working of the Father in him. He never thought of it as a gift peculiar to himself, but attainable by any man who let himself be utterly shone through by the spirit that was in Jesus. For its complete operation he recognized the necessity of some sort of conjunction between the healer and the patient. Ordinarily this was accomplished by establishing belief between them—the desire to be healed accompanied by the firm conviction on both sides that healing was possible. "Believest thou?" and, "According to thy faith be it unto thee," were his most frequent formulas; but he did not neglect to assist the faith of the applicant by material means when necessary. It is related of the first leper that applied to him, that Jesus touched him. To touch a leper was not only a Levitical defilement, but a practical menace. It was because of this liability to contagion that

they were required to go about crying, "Unclean, unclean!" in an isolation more terrible than death.

Nothing then could have been better calculated to raise the faith of the unfortunate than that fearless human contact. To Jesus the leper *was* clean; and almost immediately he became so to himself.

Later, when his work as a healer appears to have been overborne by his message and the unresponsiveness of the community, he used symbolic acts, such as touchings, anointings of the eyes, to create that rapport between him and his patient which was so important to success. Also it is recorded that in more than one town he did no mighty work because of their unbelief.

Although he once spoke in reference to a stubborn case of possession, of the aid he derived from prayer and fasting—he had just come on that occasion from a long session of spiritual communion—he seems never to have related the work of healing to any sort of goodness, any preferred frame of moral behavior. For we read that at the cleansing of the temple, in his most human outburst of indignation, in that same hour they brought to him lame and blind, and he healed them.

It is also indisputable that Jesus taught that healing could be sought by one for another; the faith of the parent for the child, of the master for

the servant, acted as the solvent of disorder, or, if you prefer it, as the conductor of the divine inundation. Two or three instances of this sort shall be noted in their proper order; we have here to do with Jesus' own opinion as to what his healing powers witnessed. He offered them to John as the only available evidence, and in the same series, that the poor had the gospel preached to them. Is it too much to conclude that in offering the facts of his ministry rather than its message, his teaching was as yet differentiated from John's only by being an extension of it? In a beautiful tribute to the Baptist which is reported to us by Luke, he places John at the forefront of the tribe of prophets. "Among those born of women . . . not a greater. . . ." If it is the case that John was the first to teach that the Kingdom of God is affected by relations between man and man, rather than between man and deity, the judgment of time would seem to agree with him. "But he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he." If by this Jesus meant that the man who realizes in his daily life that perfect balance between man and his neighbor which is the essence of Christianity, is greater than he who merely announces it, here too history is in accord. John appears to us as a man who rather escaped such realization by his life in the Wilderness; but his disciple Jesus accomplished it.

This is almost the last we shall hear of the Baptist, for it was not far from the time when he should lose his life under Herod, the King himself being reluctant, but trapped into beheading him by that Herodias whom John's preaching had so offended. It was fitting that this tribute should come from his most distinguished convert, and one reads with satisfaction that it was received with enthusiasm by the disciples of Jesus, many of whom had been baptized with John's baptism. And for the Pharisees and lawyers who rejected the counsel of God against themselves, there was one of those brilliant thrusts which, while it rendered his critics silent, always the more deeply enraged them. Said the Master:

Whereunto shall I liken the men of this generation,
And to what are they like?

They are like unto children sitting in the market place
Calling to one another and saying,
We have piped unto you and ye have not danced;
We have mourned unto you and ye have not wept,

For John the Baptist came
Neither eating bread nor drinking wine,
And ye say, He hath a devil;

The Son of man is come eating and drinking,
And ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, a wine-bibber,
A friend of Publicans and sinners.

But Wisdom is justified of all her children!

§

Among other things accomplished during the second stay in Capernaum was the raising of the number of his personal following to twelve in remembrance of the twelve houses of Israel. Their organization was of the simplest; they had a common purse and were the recipients of his most intimate teaching. In nothing so much has Jesus shown his humanness to be of the same stripe as that of all great geniuses as in this selection; for of the twelve, one betrayed him and only two or three after his death showed any especial aptitude for the dissemination of his doctrine.

But seeing all Israel as sheep lacking a shepherd, he seized upon what seemed the likeliest material, and within a month or two began to send them forth to the cities of Galilee.

About the end of the barley harvest, if we accept the chronology which the color of his speech allows, they drew out of the plain of Gennesaret to one of those hollow cone-shaped hills of upper Galilee, having on its outer rim twin towering peaks like

the frontlet of a bull, called the Horns of Hattin. It is reached by a foot-path up through the Valley of Doves, between thickets of oak and thorn and oleander. Here the twelve came for their parting instruction, but not unmarked by that crowd of miserables who seem to have hung always about his path, ready to pounce upon the first faint hope of healing. Where the blind and the halt and the sick borne in litters were seen moving in any given direction, there the crowd came hurrying. They must have been at it all the warm, star-lighted dusk, threading the dim trails, for when Jesus, after a night spent in prayer apart on one of the peaks, came down into the amphitheater, he found it filled with the multitude. Accounts differ as to what he said to them, but all agree that the occasion was notable and that he met it with a more than ordinary accession of preaching power. They agree, too, in presenting the sermon delivered between the Horns of Hattin as a practical direction for the conduct of life rather than a doctrinal disquisition. Something of the sort the setting out of the disciples called for: and in the manner of coming together of the crowd there was evinced a demand for instruction more explicit than the mere announcement of the kingdom. Time and place had combined to make it the sincerest and best-selected audience that had yet collected about the prophet.

Whether the things recorded as the sermon on the mount were first said there, or elsewhere, or whether, as seems likely, they were things said and repeated on various occasions, is unimportant. Some of them were undoubtedly framed to meet the exigencies of the twelve on their preaching tours; but all in all the discourse stands as the most consistent program of Christian character that had yet been offered.

It seems to have begun with a rush to meet the unvoiced demand that was made upon the teacher by their simply being there at such pains and in such numbers, anxious-hearted; by the marks upon them of the conditions under which life was lived in Palestine, the personal tyrannies, the grinding impositions.

"Blessed are ye, O ye poor," he cried, "for yours is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye that do hunger and thirst, for ye shall be filled. . . ." And one whose need was bread heard it as a promise of material relief, and whoso thirsted for the things of the spirit heard it as pertaining to the Spirit. To others who lacked everything it came as the promise of the kingdom which was to come only Heaven knew how, but very shortly, a proletariat Heaven in which the poor were to be rich and the rich poor, and everything quite and completely different. Taken with other things that he said then and upon

later occasions, I can make nothing more or less of it than the involuntary expression of his bright belief in the abundance of God lying open *in all things* to whoever would reach out and seize them. For he said again: "Take no thought what ye shall eat, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on . . . for if God so clothe the grass of the field. . . . O ye of little faith!" And again: "For your Heavenly Father knoweth you have need of these things. Seek ye therefore the kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you."

All his early teaching was vibrant with this joyous confidence of the Spirit to compel the flow of material things—health, food, and raiment. He poured it out here, flashing his discourse now upon the twelve and now to the waiting multitude, and again sweeping them all into the compass of the hand as children of the Father. "Ye are the light of the world," he said. "Let your light so shine among men. . . ."

For he was not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it in terms of the thoughts and affections of men. They were not to think that the law against murder was to be kept by the mere avoidance of killing, but by the denial of hate and anger and all forms of enmity; it was not alone in incontinence of the flesh that unchastity consisted, but in the lusts of the eye and the imaginations of the

heart. This was sterner doctrine to Israel than to us after a score of centuries, but the probe went even deeper. It struck at the very root of Hebrew morality, that austere and measured system of reprisal upon which their civil code was founded, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. *Vengeance is mine saith the Lord; I will repay;* and as they expected God to deal with them so dealt they with their fellows. "But I say unto you," ran the new teaching, "love your enemies, do good to them that hate you and pray for them that despitefully use you."

In the multiplicity of points at which it touched their daily life, this was even a more revolutionary doctrine than that of the forgiveness of sins. But perhaps just because of its nearness they understood it better. This can be gathered from the readiness with which, after his death had sealed it to them, the early Christians practised the new teaching; they were not as we are, put at fault by the free imagery in which it was stated.

"Whosoever will smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him thy left also," said Jesus, "and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile with him, go twain." But in the different accounts of it the context of this saying is changed. One suspects some crossing here of general principles and the special direction intended for the disciples who were about

to set out on an errand in which it was important that no antagonism should be aroused. Jesus himself always went the second mile with his adversaries, and at the end of it defeated them. The whole of that passage beginning "resist not evil," reads more like the best example of that spiritual astuteness that distinguished him than a declaration of religious principle. Wise as serpents and harmless as doves, they were to find in non-resistance the subtlest, completest form of victory. At least the passage was never interpreted by the men who heard it as a doctrine of inaction. Both Jesus and his disciples were sharp in attack on existing evils, fearless in denunciation, not devoid of just wrath, and active in proselyting.

So much of the sermon as we have glanced at was constructive. The rest of it was mainly taken up with precept and illustration touching the peculiar weaknesses of the time, hypocrisy and formalism. Alms were to be given in secret, not to be seen of men; so also of prayer, which he enjoined on them. In the closet with shut door they were to seek the Father, and, seeking, they should find; knocking, it should be opened unto them. "For if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him."

These were the sayings of Jesus set down by

Matthew and John Mark in answer to the first eager cry of converts, "What shall I *do* to be saved?" For there was never any doubt on the part of those who listened to Jesus and his disciples that participation in the kingdom was dependent upon a changed conduct, "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees . . ." and again, "Not every one that heareth, but he that *doeth* the will of my Father." That is why, perhaps, we have in the gospels so much of specific direction and less than we would gladly hear of the spiritual illumination from which it proceeds. For it is impossible not to realize how little resemblance there is between the God of love whom Jesus came preaching and the Jehovah of the Hebrew scriptures, jealous, capricious, avenging, worshiped with bloody rites at Jerusalem, with scapegoat and sin-offering and burnt-offering of bullocks and of rams. It was not in either of the great Jewish sects that he found the doctrine of man in God and God in man, as implied in the terms of kinship used by Jesus. Yet in none of the gospels is it set down as a new doctrine, nor was the preacher ever called to account for it. Though there is some reason to believe that he regarded it as an important part of his mission to make known the true nature of God, Jesus himself never explained when or by what means he had come by the revelation. It was one of those truths

which lie at the bottom of the deep wells of human understanding, so native to its element, so intrinsic that, once realized, it is not thought of as requiring explication. With something of the same simplicity with which it was offered, the fatherliness of God was accepted. But your true Oriental is always a mystic. It was easier for him to realize that "no man knoweth the Father save only the son"—that is to say, that only by the God-in-man is the God-beyond-man apprehended—than it was to understand how the kingdom of God could be set up in Israel without the physical overthrow of the Roman Empire. The sermon on the mount instructed those who heard it in the sort of behavior which at the same time fitted for the approaching kingdom of heaven and provided a way of escape from destruction, but in respect to the scope and manner of that kingdom when it should come, it left them exactly where it found them.

Give not that which is holy unto dogs
Neither cast your pearls before swine,
Lest haply the swine trample them under foot
And the dogs turn and rend you.
—Matt. vii, 6.

By their fruits ye shall know them.
Do men gather grapes of thorns?
Or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit
But the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit:
A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit,
Neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit
Is hewn down and cast into the fire.
Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them.
—vii, 16-20.

No servant can serve two masters:
For either he will hate the one
And love the other;
Or else he will hold to one
And despise the other.

He can not serve God and Mammon.
—Luke xvi, 13.

[Original form of sayings of Jesus. Arranged by Richard G. Moulton.]

V

OF what happened to the twelve on their tour, who heard and who reviled them, there is not so much as a tradition. They went forth to do as they saw Jesus doing—to teach, to heal, and to cast out devils; at no point was the business of the disciple distinguished from that of the master. It was evident from the instruction they received that they were not to go far nor to remain long; they came again and told all that they had done.

Of what happened to Jesus in the interim there is even less, unless we place in this period some incidents not otherwise located except by the logic of circumstance. Of these the most significant was the supper at the house of a Pharisee. It seems more probable that after his return from the mountain, rid of his immediate following, men of no very great refinement of manner if the truth must be told, certain of the Pharisees who had been attracted by his doctrine but repelled by his want of conformity, would again attempt to put themselves in sympathy with the prophet.

One did so attempt by inviting him to his house

for a meal; and while it was in progress, possibly in the open court, for it was now full summer, the guests reclining in the Roman manner—for so it was the custom of the Jews at their feasts to assume the postures of free men—there came a woman into the room and stood behind the Master. She stood there weeping in the dusk; her tears fell upon his feet, and she wiped them with her hair. They could see her in the flare of the tall lamps, wiping his feet and kissing them, and presently the air of the place began to be filled with perfume, delicate and costly. Then the Pharisee said in his heart, for he knew her, "If this man were a prophet"—for he was by no means sure—"he would know what manner of woman this is, for she is a sinner," but though it was his own house, he dared not be the first to speak of it.

He watched for some movement of withdrawal on the part of his guest from the defiling presence, but instead he found himself addressed.

"Simon, I have somewhat to say to thee."

"Say on, Master."

Said Jesus: "There was a certain creditor had two debtors, the one of whom owed five hundred pence, the other fifty, and when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him most."

"I suppose he to whom he forgave most." Simon

was ready enough with the answer, but he saw not where the question tended.

In the beginning he had omitted those attentions which were due an honored guest, fearing, perhaps, to commit himself too much. The man *might* be a prophet, in which case it were well to have entertained him, but still— And now his guest was pointing out to him that it was the woman who had supplied the missing hospitality, the ceremonial washing, the kiss of welcome, the anointing.

"Wherefore," said the Master, "her sins are forgiven, for she hath loved much; but he to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." And to the woman he said: "Go in peace; thy sins be forgiven thee." This was the way he took to turn even the slights of his adversaries to advantage in the spread of his doctrine. It was also one of the things that was remembered against him.

How else he spent the time of his disciples' absence cannot be so much as guessed, unless he spent a part of it in his mother's house at Nazareth. The last we hear of his family was on the occasion of their visit to him at Capernaum, when, if he received them at all, it was not until after they had been made to feel that their claim upon him was less than that of more ardent believers. And the next we hear is that Mary his mother, and possibly a brother, are in the group that followed him up to Jerusalem.

James was martyred for his sake, and the grandsons of Jude confessed him as Christ before the Emperor Domitian.

There must have intervened between these, some occasion on which his family had leisure to hear and be converted by him, and this is the only unaccounted-for interval of his ministry.

It would probably have been during this period of retirement that the news reached him of how the daughter of Herodias had danced the head of John the Baptist off his shoulders and on to a silver charger, otherwise there would have been some public question raised by it. And if he were not where I suppose him, then he was more than likely where we read that he was often to be found, apart in the hills and desert places at prayer.

It is not because the soul of man is less importunate, but only because it is immensely more fluent than the physical habit, that his religious practices take their cast from his daily living. Ordinarily the spirit accommodates itself to trifles of custom and expedient as a stream to the pebbles in its bed, flowing over and around them; it is only in freshets that they are carried utterly away. The essential teachings of the man Joshua Ben Joseph cut a wide, free channel for the spiritual aspirations of the time, but his private religious observances were largely shaped by contemporaneous Hebrew usage.

The pagan carried his gods with him. Every place in which he elected to set up his altars became sacred, fit for worship or expiation; but to the Jew there was but one holy place, even the mount of Jerusalem. Only between the horns of the great altar could sacrifice be acceptably made. But ever since the Captivity of Babylon there had been, in whatever place Jews of the dispersion were congregated, meeting-houses where the books of the law were kept and matters pertaining to their religion could be discussed. These synagogues in the time of Jesus, when the temple worship was still the dominant feature of Hebraism, had even less of sanctity than attaches to them since the destruction of Jerusalem; they were used only on Sabbaths and commemorative occasions. All the treasures of religious association were still with the grass and the rain, the wild hills and the swelling of Jordan. Wealthy Jews had closets for personal devotions, rooms dedicated to reading and meditation, little kiosks on the housetops, looking toward Jerusalem; but in the crowded warrens of the poor there were no such privacies. Any man among them subject to visitation of the Spirit must have turned instinctively toward those places where of old God had visited Abraham, Elijah, and Isaiah. It is impossible not to conclude that to the circumstances of great light and space in which he received it, quite as

much as to the compulsory co-operations and interdependence of poverty from which he came, we owe the spacious social character of the teaching of Jesus.

Above the plain of Gennesaret lie the orchards; first the olives with the vines between; above the olives the figs; above the figs the apricots, almonds, walnuts. Beyond the orchards the wild jungle begins — oak and thorn and terebinth; at last the "trees of God," spired fir and fan-spread cedar.

Here the charcoal-burner's hut would have sheltered him, or one of those low stone sheds used by the shepherds at lambing-time. At this latitude the sky retains its blueness on until midnight, the stars are not pricked in on one plane, but draw the eye to the barred door of space. A man praying here all night on one of these open hill-fronts might think he heard them swinging to their stations, might hear without any fancying the heavy surge of the Mediterranean roll up along the western buttress of the Bridge. At dawn the fishing fleet would break out of the lake towns like doves out of a dove-cote, and caravans, starting early to avoid the heat of the day, begin to crawl along the *Wadi el Haman.* Hours such as this God flowed into him, filled and overfilled him.

And with all his being so filled and foaming with

the new wine of his gospel, he retained the shape he had from the potter.

He was a small-town man and no world-builder. He preached the Kingdom of God, knowing God for a spirit and having an increasing realization of the kingdom as a state of being. But he had no program. He followed the inward voice, and followed it instinctively with the freedom of a river in its natural channel, with no fretting of the flesh. But where the voice left him uninformed he was simply a man from Nazareth; his social outlook was the outlook of a villager.

All the great prophets of Israel had come out of the Wilderness; their words were full of the terrible things—thunders, earthquakes, fire on the mountains. But the words of Jesus are all of the small town: the candle and the bushel, the housewife's measure of yeast, the children playing in the street. The rich he knew only as the poor and the oppressed know them; the kings of his parables were the kings of fairy-tale and legend, such kings and potentates as make the stock of the village story-teller. His very way of speaking was a folk way, the pithy sentence, the pregnant figure. He saw God reflected in every surface of the common life and taught in parables which are, after all, but a perfected form of the quizzes and riddles dear to the unlettered wit. That is why so many of them are remembered while

his profounder sayings escaped his hearers. It is evident from the form of these, blunted as they are by retranslation, that they were, many of them, cast in the matched and balanced sentences of Hebrew verse, which accounts in part for their easy retention.

He was a man wise in life, but unlearned. He read no books but the scriptures; wrote nothing, took the folk way of transmitting his teaching from mouth to mouth and trusted God for the increase; and he had the folk way in his profoundest speech, of identifying himself with the Power that used him. He dramatized all his relations to the Invisible. With it all he was a Jew of the circumcision. He grew up beyond Judaism as a stalk of grain grows from its sheath, but never out of it. Always to his death, it was there about the roots of his life. At Capernaum, when the centurion had come to him, touching the illness of his servant, it had been thought necessary to explain that the soldier had been good to the Jews and had built them a synagogue. In the sending of his disciples he had explicitly directed them not to go into Samaria. His final illumination on this point he took with that extraordinary spiritual efficiency which distinguished him; equally with John the Baptist he understood that many should come in from strange lands and sit down with the children of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. But the stalk had not yet overtopped

its sheath when the returning twelve met him at the appointed rendezvous, which was probably Capernaum.

From what follows, one judges that the teaching of the disciples must have been attended with a measure of success. From this time on until he deliberately disappointed it, public expectation ran high. What with the coming and going, Jesus and the twelve were so beset that they found it necessary to withdraw some little distance out of the city along the lake shore, but the people marked where they went and, outrunning the boat, gathered about them again as sheep about a shepherd. Here, after he had preached to them, occurred one of those ebullitions of religious excitement which gave rise to the incident known as the miracle of the loaves and fishes. Popular enthusiasm is an excellent medium for miracle tales to ripen in. What probably happened was that the multitude were so fired by hope of the kingdom that they forgot their hunger and hung about until Jesus, having first dismissed his disciples toward Bethsaida upon the ship, sent them away. It was the plan, no doubt, to rejoin the twelve after he had refreshed himself on the mountain, as his custom was after any notable effort, by deep draughts of prayer. And along in the fourth watch of the night his disciples, being on the sea and the moon shining, saw him come walking on the

water as though he would have passed them. But they, thinking him a spirit, cried out in alarm until he spoke to them and came into the ship and comforted them. So Mark sets down what he recalled of what Peter told him.

There was an earlier incident still of the crossing of this same lake, on the night before the healing of the demoniac which led to their being avoided by the cities of Gadara. On that occasion a storm arose—one of those sudden flaws of wind whirling down from Hermon to be sucked into the Rift of Jordan. They would spring up all in an instant, beating the lake from jade to blue and silver and then white with spume, and as suddenly die away again. But while the clumsy fishing-craft labored in the teeth of it Jesus slept until the boatmen, at the last gasp of their strength and skill, cried to him, "Master, help or we perish." Immediately, when he was awakened, he said to them, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" and also he said, "Peace, be still," and the wind fell off, and the ship righted. All of which can be explained away by anybody who finds himself endowed with the kind of mind which demands it. Did Peter really tell Mark that Jesus walked *on* the water or that he walked along it, along the shallow, tideless beach, so lost in meditation that it was not until they called to him from the boat, anchored a few feet offshore, that he was aware of

them? Had he been there all the night, walking by the still waters, instead of on the mountain where they supposed him? Peter should have known, but certainly *if* he knew it took more than a miracle of walking on the water to keep Peter faithful at the crisis at Jerusalem. After all, what a miracle needs for its acceptance is demonstration rather than argument. We believe the miracles of healing because we have known of cures being accomplished in our own day, and we do not believe in walking on the water, because it isn't done among our acquaintances. Such incidents as these are told of all prophets, as a symbol of the extension of their powers over fields felt to be within man's province, but as yet beyond his capacity.

What actually did happen was that the ship, instead of making port at Bethsaida as had been planned, was blown out of its course back to the coast of Galilee. Here the very thing that Jesus had sought to avoid at Capernaum awaited him. He was immediately recognized and beset by the sick borne in litters, and by throngs struggling only for the touch of his garments. Many that touched him were made whole by the faith that was in them, but it is notable here that he is not said to have healed anybody purposefully. From this time forth he showed a tendency deliberately to avoid the work of healing as an impediment to his preaching career.

There is a hint in the gospel narrative that at this juncture, when his popularity in the thickly populated plain of Gennesaret had reached its height, there was a tentative attempt to put him at the head of some sort of organized revolution, an attempt which he evaded. This would account for several things that followed in the interim between the return of the twelve and the journey up to Jerusalem. It accounts for the falling away of the disappointed populace, and for the secrecy which was maintained as to his movements afterward. He might have wished to avoid another popular demonstration, so uncomprehending, and his frequent trips across the border of Galilee might easily have been to escape the attention of Herod, who at this time certainly heard of him and began to wonder if this might not be John the Baptist come to life again to vex him.

About this time we read of Pharisees coming all the way from Jerusalem to see and question. They found for their first item that he and his disciples ate with unwashed hands; that is to say, that they omitted the ceremonial symbol of cleansing before meat. Attempting a rebuke, they found themselves rebuked in turn, and that roundly, convicted of lip service, of hypocrisy, of neglecting the commandments of God in favor of their traditions, making clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but inwardly full of ravening and wickedness. He cried

woe unto them for the tithing of mint and cumin and passing over the judgment and the love of God; woe for that they loved the chief seats in the synagogue and greetings in the market. "Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, ye are as graves which appear not, and men that walk over them are not aware of them!" So are they who are under the influences of Pharisees defiled by unsuspected corruption.

And one of the lawyers, those whose business it was to draw out of the scriptures interpretations to suit the exigencies of his clients, said, "Master, saying this thou reproachest us also." And Jesus answering, said:

"Woe unto you also, ye lawyers . . . for you build sepulchers to the prophets, and your fathers killed them." With much more in the same strain to the effect that the blood of all the prophets should be required of their generation. "For," said he, referring to their method of distorting the scriptures to their advantage, "Ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves"—into the understanding of God, he meant—"and those that were entering ye hindered."

Then he called the people to him and deliberately tore across the whole fabric of Levitical cleansing which held the theory and practice of Pharisaism together. Once for all he rid his name people of

the accumulated tradition which reduced the process of daily living to a formula in the effort to avoid defiling or being defiled. "For there is nothing without a man," taught Jesus, "which entering into a man can defile him, but the things which come out of him . . . for out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts . . . thefts, covetousness, deceit, lasciviousness . . . all these things come from within and defile a man."

It was a pronouncement which had effects far reaching in the organization of his followers after his death, and carried them beyond what Jesus himself found necessary; it became, in fact, the door through which the gospel passed to the Gentiles.

But he had struck at a very tender part in the armor of Pharisaical respectability, and from this time on he became the special mark of their animosity, seeking always to provoke him to the point at which the law might take hold of him. It had something to do, no doubt, with the privacy of his movements; though that would have found sufficient excuse in the wish to instruct and prepare his disciples for the work which now, by divine intuition, he saw shaping dimly before them. Leaving Bethsaida, he is heard of in the parts of Dalmanutha and in the borders of Magadan; he journeyed to Tyre and Sidon. Here he was in a region predominately Gentile and, until his return from Cæsarea-Philippi,

out of the jurisdiction of Herod. He went unrecognized for the most part, and undeclared; but a man so marked as Jesus, attended by twelve who pay him the deepest attention and reverence, cannot always be hid. Near Dalmanutha Pharisees came forth again, this time demanding a sign. His disciples being of the masses and distrusting all aristocracies either of manners or morals, thought they came to tempt him, but Jesus understood them better. His scorn licked them like a flame, "Hypocrites, thinking to discern the sky and not able to read the signs of the times!" which showed that he had been reading them himself to some purpose; but to their wicked and adulterous generation no sign should be given, save the sign of the prophet Jonas, the sign of their own degeneracy which called for a signal handling from God. On two or three occasions during this journey, compassion broke down his reluctance to heal, though more than ordinary precautions were taken to prevent the healing from being known. It is notable that on these occasions, lacking the flux of a popular belief in him, he sometimes reinforced his method by symbolic touchings and an application to the eyeballs of the blind.

On his journey into Tyre and Sidon one incident preserved to us shows the gradual widening of his mind to the world outside of Jewry. In one of the

cities where he concealed himself he was recognized by a Syrophœnician woman who would have had him cast forth a devil out of her daughter. "But," said Jesus, "let the children first be filled; it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs." There spoke the Nazarene and the Hebrew, thinking of the chosen people. "Yea, Lord," the woman answered him in his own figure, "but the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs." And the answer pleased him, for though, as in the case of the centurion, he had not found such faith in Israel, he honored it when he found it.

§

They would have been a month or two at this business, holding on until late in November, if, as I think, it was the advent of the early rains which turned them east and south from Cæsarea-Philippi. They passed over Ephraim; on the plains of Phœnicia they smelled the sea. Toward Sidon they heard it pounding, saw between the low coast hills its white hands cast up. Hereabout they struck into the great coast road passing between Surrepta and Sidon, followed it as far as the gorge of Litany, perhaps—for it is not stated that they entered into either of the cities—and, climbing the sharp comb of hills between that and the upper Jordan, dropped down to Cæsarea-Philippi. For the most part it was pleasant going, past high, well-watered valleys

and woods of maple, oak, and bay. In the neighborhood of cities more Roman than Galilee they saw instruments of ignominious execution set up, and those melancholy processions, perhaps—the criminal bearing his cross, whipped forth by the soldiery, and following afar off, the rabble, curious and scoffing.

They would put in awhile at sequestered villages, preaching perhaps to such select few as were able to hear the Word, and then to the road again, where they slept at ancient khans, at shepherds' huts, and many a night all open to the stars. They ate such food as they bought at the wayside, rough, wild figs of the sycomore, and parched grain gleaned in the fields. They would sit Eastern fashion on the ground, and, each making his little fire of the stalks, and threshing out the scorched ear in the hand, they would wash down the half-cooked grain with wine from a goatskin bottle, while they talked of things pertaining to the kingdom. At the end of the long twilight there would come a moment when, with heads bowed and covered, there would run a reverent murmur about the camp—*Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.* . . . The immemorial declaration of the Shema.

Art has done too much for this man, to paint him forever tried, scourged, forever a-dying. He was not only a man of the small towns, but of the hills,

the open road. He is seen at his best here, striding a little ahead of his companions, bronzed, hardy, the turban off to catch the mountain coolness, the long hair blown backward from the rapt countenance, and over him a higher heaven than had yet lifted upon man. Of the twelve or fourteen months which scholars allow to his ministry, how much of it was spent out of cover! At the preaching of John in the Rift of Jordan, on the mount of the Wilderness, in the hills back of Gennesaret, on the road to Cæsarea-Philippi, sleeping under the oaks at Gethsemane. Nothing else accounts so readily for his preoccupation with the natural rather than the institutional relations of men.

It was in this fashion he came to Philip's handsome capital. Philip the Tetrarch was as much of a Jew as a brother of Herod Antipas could be, and Perea was a district counted to Israel, though its influences were largely Greek. The citadel, from its rocky promontory, overlooks the wheat-fields and the mulberry-trees of the upper Jordan valley. Here full born from its basalt cavern, sacred to the god of the Beast-in-man, springs Israel's sacred river. Close to the spot where the faith of the God-in-man received its earliest formative impulse, still it wets with its spray between the wild rose and the honeysuckle, Pan's ancient altar. It is not recorded that Jesus entered Cæsarea-Philippi, but he remained

in the vicinity long enough to be recognized and sought for healing, and for the great change which had long been foreshadowed in the character of his ministry to reach its full development. For it was here that Jesus put to the twelve a question which must have been shaping in his own mind ever since the early summer, when John had first put it to him by the mouth of two of his own disciples.

"Whom do men say that I am?"

And they answered him: "John the Baptist. But some say Elias and others One of the Prophets." For it was always in the minds of Israel that the True-Speaking could pass in and out of Life and come again. Jesus held them steadily to the question.

"Whom say ye that I am?" And Peter, the impetuous, burst out with the faith that burned in him, "Thou art the Christ."

Then said Jesus, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed to thee, but my Father which is in Heaven."

It must have been here, and by the help of what he accepted as a revelation on the part of his disciples, that Jesus settled for himself much that must have seemed difficult and perplexing in his own experience. He had begun the preaching of the Kingdom of God at hand as a joyous certainty, a common heritage of the time, his only by a short priority

of announcement. Feeling his knowledge of these things only a small part of what might be gathered up by any sincere soul who addressed himself to such discovery, he had come, as do all prophets and poets, to find it looked upon with suspicion by the multitude, a strange and singular thing, misunderstood and misrated.

As his revelation increased in him, together with his knowledge of the want of it in others, he saw even between himself and his chosen intimates a gulf immeasurable. It is at this point that genius falters. Sometimes in sheer terror of being alone with its message, it fails altogether, or weakly turns back to seek in human relations a surcease of strangeness. But Jesus, finding himself so much in advance of his time that twenty centuries have scarcely caught up with him, found himself unaffrighted because not wholly without direction. Woven out of the faith of his race, by a long line of prophets, the mantle of Messiahship waited for him who could fulfil it. It cannot be said that at any time until the very last day of his life Jesus publicly assumed it, but from this time forth he went clothed in the certainty of harmony between himself and the expectation of the ages. Though his time rejected him, he became a part of all times in as much as he was a figure of prophecy. The feeling of being prepared for and expected satisfied for the man of Nazareth

that sense of *belonging*, the hunger for which frets great souls to their undoing.

That the incident stood both in his mind and that of his disciples for a definitely changed relationship appears at once. When he had charged them that they should make none of these things known, he began to teach them how it was that he should go up to Jerusalem, and what things he should suffer there. Certainly he must have carried these things in his mind for some time before he spoke of them; finding no way to reconcile them with his first joyous prevision of the kingdom, until he had accepted himself in the light of a fulfilment of prophecy. That his disciples found them utterly irreconcilable with any conception they had of him appears from Peter's hasty, "Far be it from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." But even Peter, reminded in his turn that he smelled of the things of men rather than of God, could hardly have understood what followed. For Jesus, calling the people to him, and his disciples, also, said: "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? . . ."

Other things he said which, as they afterward re-

called, referred more explicitly to the fate which was even then preparing for him. But it seems hardly possible it could have been clearly indicated or at all understood, for when the blow fell it found them wholly unprepared. In the light of what occurred later they harked back to interpret what he had said. At the time other things better remembered drove it from their minds.

Some days after Peter's ready declaration, Jesus took him, together with James and John, high and apart on the mountain for one of those sessions of silent prayer to which he owed his spiritual sustenance.

Hermon draws up out of the plain of the upper Jordan as the roots of a great oak lift out of the ground. The land is filled with the sound of running waters; full-born rivers leap from limestone caves and go roaring toward the Rift. The shrub is close-leaved here; at intervals great trees stand up; they reach the borders of perpetual snows.

On this occasion the little company must have climbed up beyond the tree-line into the region of the stony waste before Jesus drew aside for his hour of communion. Wearied sooner at their own devotions, humbly his disciples watched him. While he prayed they saw the fashion of his countenance change, grow white and shining, and a bright cloud overshadowed them. These were very simple souls

to whom undreamed-of things may happen. While Jesus was wrapt from himself did a white flash of his burning spirit strike across to them? Such things are possible. Or was it the alpen glow, that most transcendent of all the visible manifestations of God, flooding down from Hermon, touching all things with its divine transfiguration? They were fishermen of the low, lake region to whom the stained air laving the peaks of the mountains was as strange as splendid. It spoke to them as all beauty of nature speaks to the devout, of God. Bathed in it, they saw their Messiah as it became all true Jews to see him, radiant between the Law and the Prophets, in the figures of Moses and Elias.

Coming down from the heights, touched with awe of the celestial wonder, they ventured a timid question. "Why," said they, "do the Scribes say that Elias should come first?" For if this was truly the Christ of prophecy, there wanted somewhat to the fulfilment.

Said Jesus, "Elias is already come, but they knew him not and did unto him whatsoever they listed." By which they understood him to refer to John the Baptist. More is reported of the same character, but all too much colored by what happened in the interval between the writing and the recording to be veridical. It is enough, however, to define the path by which their thoughts traveled to the idea

of Jesus and his teaching which finally possessed them.

There was a longer road still, in which they were to reconcile the person of the crucified carpenter with the glorious figure of the Messiah limned upon the Hebrew consciousness, but from this time forth we see Jesus held to the perfect poise by the knowledge of what God expected of him. He was not the first man nor the last to perish for the Word, but this was unique in him, that he never doubted nor repented. And if he saw in himself the fulfilment of prophecy, the Anointed one of Israel, who shall gainsay him? If he was not the Messiah the Jews expected, he was at least the only one they ever had.

And it shall come to pass when he has brought low everything that is in the world,
And has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom,
Then joy shall be revealed,
And rest shall appear!

Then healing shall descend in dew,
And disease shall withdraw,
And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men,
And gladness proceed through the whole earth.

And wild beasts shall come forth from the forest and minister unto men,
And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child.

And it shall come to pass in those days that the reaper shall not grow weary,
Nor those that build be toilworn,
For the works shall of themselves speedily advance,
Together with those who do them in much tranquillity.

[From the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, a Jewish work of the last half of the first century, which strongly influenced the style of the synoptic gospels.]

VI

AND if not the Messiah of expectation, how then did he succeed in fulfilling the prophecy without satisfying the dream? His message he knew to be Messianic, but that he himself fell short in some particulars of the long-cherished ideal seems to be indicated in the last clause of the message he sent to John, "Blessed is he that finds no occasion of stumbling in me." Here we see the man from Nazareth imposing his Levitical training on the prophet. Thus and so Messiah was to come; and yet here was the saving Word delivered in quite other ways.

The one feature irreconcilable between the inheritance and the revelation of Jesus was the establishment of the kingdom. This was to be the work of the Messiah, and it is probable that when Jesus began to preach his early coming—before they had gone through the cities of Israel—he was thinking of a person quite apart from himself. The growth of the idea that he himself was the fulfilment of prophecy was shown in him; it did not reach him much in advance of the certainty that if he was to

restore the kingdom to Israel, it was not to be in his own time and his own flesh. He was to prepare for it by revealing the true nature of the Father and establishing kinship between God and man. He was to reorganize the thoughts and affections of men in the Spirit and in Love. But more and more as he felt on all sides the pressure of Roman empiry, of established governmental and economic systems, he realized the necessity of breaking up the mold of society, of pouring its fluid stuff into lines more in conformity with his revelation of Brotherhood in man. To speak in our tongue, Jesus accepted the idea of social revolution without any clear notion of how it was to be accomplished. The entrance of the individual into the kingdom was a matter of personal spiritual regeneration to which Jesus held the key. The setting up of the great commandment as a human institution lay in a region beyond the reach of his most poignant revelation.

But again, this was to be the work of the Messiah, and if Jesus were the Christ, then his work somehow, in some fashion. And Jesus was to die. Of this he seems to have been certain from Cæsarea-Philippi forward; intimations of his end thickened as the time drew on. Casting about for the solution of these apparently irreconcilable conditions, he fixed upon the common belief in the return of the prophets. How readily Israel could accept such passage in and

out of death is seen in their question about John the Baptist. John was Elias and Jesus was John come again. And if Jesus were Christ, why should not a second coming, not in the flesh, but with Power, show forth the wonders that the first had missed? In some such fashion the man from Nazareth worked out his incompleted revelation.

Something had been accomplished by the temporary withdrawal of Jesus from the cities of Gennesaret. Once for all he had cleared himself from any movement which had for its objective the taking of the kingdom of heaven by violence. His work of healing was definitely relegated to a secondary place. Disappointed of this transitory hope, the rabble fell away, but many sincere souls still resorted to him.

One phrase from an incident at Cæsarea-Philippi lights up for us, as by a spark struck from a common experience, the state of mind of the devout of Israel, "Lord, I believe, Help thou mine unbelief." It was the cry that had burst with tears from the father of the dumb demoniac whom the disciple could not heal. Coming down from the mount of transfiguration, he had found a crowd gathered about the remnant of his disciples, and in their midst the man begging relief for his son. It was not until the Master accosted him with the customary formula, "Believest thou that I canst do this thing?" that the deep-seated doubt came to the surface in that cry.

So Israel, unhealed by all its prophets, voiced its doubt and its desire. Upon this cry the common faith tossed to and fro, rallied, broke, and scattered, came to fulfilment at last in martyrdom long after he had passed. There were moments when it shook its shadow over the surface of his mood. He was impatient with the incompetence of his disciples. . . . "O faithless generation, how long shall I suffer you!" He pronounced woe on Chorazin and Bethsaida. At times a wistful humanness broke through. "Can it be that a prophet shall perish from Jerusalem!"

Not that there wanted occasions to try the patience of the teacher. No sooner had the disciples been given leave to think of Jesus as the Messiah than they were found, on the way back from Cæsarea-Philippi, in fact, disputing who should be greatest. A man discovered casting out devils in the name of Jesus was forbid by them because he was not of their following. To both of these, especially to the latter—first instance of the independent spread of his teachings during his life—Jesus made answer and illustration so unequivocal that it is a mystery how his name people have so long avoided both. "For whosoever shall give a cup of cold water in my name hath done it unto me . . . " he said, touching the question of unauthorized healing, and left them in no doubt as to the quality of their offense against

"one of these lesser ones who believe in me." But the millstone hangs still about the neck of the church, because of what it has done to those who take the name of Jesus in some fashion other than their own.

Incidents such as these, showing how far his chosen disciples were from comprehending him, contributed to the sense of disappointment voiced in his invective against the cities of Galilee. . . . "For if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented in sackcloth and ashes." It had its part in the urge which drove him, knowing what awaited him there, to set his face steadily toward Jerusalem.

This would have been two or three months before Passover, nearer if we accept the incident of the temple tax which was collected in Capernaum. The rains would have been well on, the winter wheat was up, and as many as were able making ready for the yearly pilgrimage. Altogether an excellent time to waken men to the immanence of the kingdom.

Concerning the manner of this journey, there is little said but much indicated. It was traveled with a considerable company, augmenting as they went, Jesus and the twelve with some members of their families, and certain women who ministered to them, Mary of Magdala, out of whom were cast seven devils, and some others. They went afoot, with

perhaps a donkey or two for the slender luggage; and every mile they trod was historic holy ground. It was the custom, on approaching a village where Jesus would teach, for two or three of the disciples to go ahead and make such provision as they could for the entertainment of the Master, announcing him, and no doubt appointing a place where he could be heard. But there must have been many occasions between villages or in those which proved inhospitable, when they camped happily in the fields or in the courtyard of the wayside khans. It appears that a first attempt was made to reach Jerusalem by the ancient Egyptian road which ran through Samaria, past Sychar and the vale of Shechem, but the Samaritans would not receive them. At the first village where the inhabitants proved unfriendly the sons of Zebedee would have called down fire upon them after the manner of Elijah, so hardly had they learned the lesson that the Son of Man was come to save and not to destroy. The Samaritans, always an easy, idol-loving people, closer to Rome under the hand of the Procurator Pontius Pilate, and furthest from the national dream, pushed their indifference to the prophet to the prohibitive point, for we hear no more of Jesus having set foot in the country of Shechem. They returned, instead, and approached Jerusalem from the southeast by way of the other side of Jordan.

It was in the bitterness of this rejection, no doubt, that he said to one who would have followed him, "Foxes have holes . . . but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." And to another who made excuse that he must first bury his father, "Let the dead bury their dead," since dead he found them in the spirit. So they passed to the parts of Syria beyond the Bridge from which, when the Bridge was broken under the heel of the Roman legionaries, the tide of Islam rolled in upon them.

This is a high, level country with a wind always in the wheat and great oaks rustling along the ridges. In Gilead there is balm, fields of fragrant herbs, orchards of pomegranate and apricot. Moab is a land of pastures; the roadways are beaten to dust by the flocks; toward Amman herds of camels feeding. A band of pilgrims passing from city to city of the Greek league of the Decapolis would seldom be far from the sound of the shepherds' pipes and the heavy bells of the cattle as they break down the *wadis* to the drinking-places. This was the land of Gad and Reuben, and, though strong in Greek influence, was still predominantly Hebrew. Scarcely had the apostolic band set foot in it when they were met by Pharisees with the customary Levitical quibble.

This time it was an inquiry as to whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for every rea-

son. In Jewry the power of divorce lay in the hands of the husband, requiring scarcely more than the mere form of saying so to make it lawful. It is possible that the party of the Pharisees were honestly opposed to the abuses which had sprung up under Roman laxness, but it is also probable that they were not unwilling to set Jesus at odds with Herod, who, in the thick of his troubles between Herodias and the father of his wife, was sensitive on the subject of divorce. If he had beheaded John for his strictures, what might he not be provoked to undertake against the man from Nazareth? Jesus, however, with his customary tact, avoided the personal issue and maintained the stand he had earlier taken of inviolable marriage, basing it not upon any Levitical revelation, but as is inevitable, upon the natural mating habits of humankind "as it was in the beginning." Here, too, is the first recognition of human expedient; "because of the hardness of your hearts," divorce was allowed by Moses. Which did not, however, render less obligatory the single, lifelong relation, for though polygamy was still to be found, it appears nowhere to have crossed his horizon nor to have entered into the problem of early Christianity. In this connection one may speak of the sole other incident which illuminated for us, in the light of the teachings of Jesus, the vexed relations of sex. This is an incident which finds its

way into no canonical writing until the early part of the second century, when it was inserted in the document attributed to John, where, in spite of some exegetical difficulties, it makes good its claim to consideration. It is placed in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and by tradition wholly unsupported but of high antiquity, connected with the person of Mary of Magdala. By those of the priestly party, who hoped to catch him tripping, there was brought to him a woman taken in adultery. But Jesus, making as though he heard them not, stooping, wrote with his finger upon the ground, and when they continued asking what should be done to her, lifted himself at last, inquiring of them the penalty. Whereupon her accusers insisted that it was lawful she should be stoned. Said Jesus, "Let him that is without sin among you first cast a stone." In this fashion he went the first mile which they compelled him. But when at the end of the second he found himself alone with the woman, he left off writing to say, "Hath no man condemned thee?"

Said she, "No man, Lord."

Then said Jesus: "Neither do I condemn thee. Go, sin no more."

Words and acts, they are both of a piece with all that we know of Jesus; for was he not among the prophets and given to symbolic acts charged with more than mere words conveyed? Writing in the

dust was it not to say—for we do not know if he had really learned to write at all—even so is this sin of which you accuse her written in the body, which, being dust, perishes? Whether or not the incident occurred as stated, it goes with the answer to the Pharisees to show, that though Jesus constituted chastity a matter of mind as well as body, he made no more of lapses from it than of other sins, and forgave them as readily. He put the desire of the flesh on exactly the same moral footing as the greed of wealth and the lust of pride, neither condemning it more severely as the church has done, nor more easily excusing as is the way of the world.

It is doubtful, however, if the twelve grasped anything of the breath of his comment on the existing law, allowed by Moses because of "the hardness of their hearts," for we find them moving in an orbit as narrow almost as that of his detractors, forbidding the children which were brought to him to be blessed, and still unlessened when he, taking a little child in his arms and setting him in the midst of them, declared that of such were the kingdom of heaven. In a very little while here are the sons of Zebedee, at the first opportunity asking for the chief seats in heaven.

This takes us back a little to one of the earlier incidents of the Perean pilgrimage, of the young man who had kept all the law and the commandments

from his youth up, and was still concerned as to how he might inherit eternal life. Said the teacher: "One thing thou lackest . . . sell all thou hast . . . take up thy cross and follow me." But to the disciples, after the young man had gone away grieving (for he had great possessions), Jesus said, "How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom."

"And," says Mark, "the disciples were astonished at his words."

This is more important even than the saying. They were astonished. For eight or nine months they had been with him, preaching preparation for the kingdom, and this was the first they had heard of personal wealth as a bar to entry; a serious oversight on the part of the Master if we are to read this comment on the particular case as constituting an essential doctrine. All through the Galilean ministry not a word has been heard of it, though Luke expressly tells us that there were women of substance in his train. Later in Jerusalem we find him accepting the use of a room for the Passover, and a garden without the walls, from those of his followers whose fortunes permitted of such lendings. It appears, however, not only from circumstances such as these, but from what immediately follows, that it was not the possession of riches which Jesus discredited, but the attachment to them; for he goes on to put in the same category brethren and

sisters, parent or wife or children. Just as curt had been his rejection of one who would have been his disciple, but wished first to bury his father. The stress upon wealth as against other distractions to the spirit is ours, not Jesus'.

Too much has been made of the incident of the rich young man and of a later parable of Lazarus and Dives, which illustrated a popular notion, pagan as well as Hebrew, that somehow in its turning the wheel of life must bring to every soul the full round of experience—to the poor riches, and to the rich poverty, and to those that mourned rejoicing. Something of this kind must have been in the mind of the disciples, for though this seems to have been the first time that Jesus' doctrine of self-abnegation came clear to them, it set them off immediately in the direction of the logical compensation. Something of tenderness for the Master's disappointment in the rich young man—for Jesus, beholding him, had loved him—must have been in Peter's, "Lo, *we* have left all and followed thee." But nothing could have illustrated so completely the gap which in spite of all this intimate fellowship lay between Jesus and his disciples, as the way in which James and John turned the promise of spiritual reward with which Jesus met the profferred consolation, into a hope of material advancement. It was not long before they found a naïve expression for it.

It seems that while they were on the way to Jerusalem the reserve and caution which had characterized the movement of the Master for the past few months were suddenly laid aside. Jesus resumed the leadership, walked openly at the head of his disciples, filled with power. In answer to their fear and amazement he must have tried again to prepare them for what was to happen shortly at Jerusalem, and again the revelation was either too symbolic to be clear or too clear to be believable. All that they seem to gather from it was that the expected apocalypse was at hand, and, full of unshakable confidence in the result, James and John preferred their request. It was very simply that they might sit the one on the right hand, the other on the left, of him in glory.

Said the Master: "Ye know not what ye ask. Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" They thought they could, knowing nothing of what the words signified, thinking of them, no doubt, as purely material, and that death and humiliation could in no wise be endured by one who healed lepers and raised the dying by the hand. But it was not their obtuseness which touched Jesus so nearly, nor the jealousy of the other ten at their asking, as the evidence of self-seeking, the utter failure of his disciples to grasp the teaching which the last phases

of his life were so completely to exemplify—the need and the power of service. "For whoso seeketh his life shall lose it and he that loseth shall find . . . and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be the servant of all . . . for the son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister."

§

Of the recorded part of this Perean pilgrimage there is very little more except what is common to all his ministry. Of healings there was but one—a blind man by the roadside as they came into Jericho; of parables the same sort and perhaps the same that belonged to the preaching in Galilee. They were all of the kingdom and how it should be constituted, and of the Fatherliness of God. The kingdom of heaven was a net which was let down into the sea; it was a field of sown wheat among which the enemy scattered tares; it was the leaven hid in three measures of meal. It was anything that might imply separation of what is good from what is evil, the deliberate choice of the soul. The kingdom was something which, when you had found it, was worth all that you had to pay, into possession of which you might not enter without the full price. It was a little child whom he had set in their midst and said "such is the kingdom of heaven." It was in being all that the child was, trusting, doing no evil, thinking none, all-loving, glad. The kingdom of heaven

proceeded from the heart outward and was not affected by material observances. It was the faith of the mustard-seed, which, by merely accepting the condition of being a seed and growing, became as a tree in the branches of which lodged the birds of the air. "And behold, the kingdom of God is within you."

Of God there was less to say because simpler. He was a father pitying his children, rejoicing more over one sinner which repented than over ninety-and-nine which went not astray. He was the just judge and the wise master; the friend of the soul of man. He heard prayer and answered it, and men ought always to pray and to faint not.

As to what Jesus said of himself there is less than this generation realizes. Nursed in an interpretation of Christianity which made Jesus the chief part of his own teaching, we have much to forget before we can see how apart he held himself from his doctrine. That day in Nazareth when among his own kin he stood up in the synagogue and read from the book of Isaiah, was his first and only public attempt to represent himself as the fulfilment of prophecy. He read:

The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor . . . to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. But there is no evidence that when he began to say, "This

day is the scripture fulfilled in your ears," that he thought of himself as anything more than the scripture described—an appointed preacher, another voice in the wilderness. To John, who sent asking, he offered not himself, but his works. Once in the press at Capernaum a woman cried out, "Blessed be the womb that bore thee and the breasts that gave thee suck." And he answered her, rebukingly, "Rather blessed be they that hear the word of God and keep it." And on the mountain, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?"

Though he came finally to accept himself as the fulfilment of prophecy, it must never be forgotten that the Messiah of expectation was not thought of as a man of divine nature, but as divinely appointed. The claims which Jesus made to divinity were not different in kind from those he set up on behalf of every man, through a knowledge of sonship with the Father, through the personal revelation. Strive, therefore . . . "to know yourselves and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Father." Sayings such as these leave us in no doubt that Jesus meant to teach the kinship of God and man as a reality, the objective of the soul's immemorial quest.

Prophets had glimpsed it; the East had made the certainty its own, but with the difference which marks out the man of Nazareth for us as the fore-

most of Occidentals. The Orient had accepted its recognition of the deific principle in man as an invitation to Nirvana, the final reabsorption of selfhood in Godhead. And at the point where the East found itself, it turned its back on humanity. To Jesus such recognition came as the call of the open road; the threshold of infinite possibility, "Be ye perfect, therefore, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The more he knew himself the son of God the more of a personality he became, the more social and experienceable his teaching.

That he did, by conscious realization of the divine principle in himself, arrive at a dignity and scope of character which strikes a tremor out of us still at this distance to contemplate, there can be no reasonable doubt; but equally no doubt that he thought of himself as distinct and apart from Godhead. "Why call ye me good?" he protested, "there is but one good, God."

That he was not wholly understood in this even by those nearest to him is evident from the way they phrased it, ". . . to as many as believed on him gave he power to become the sons of God. . . ." So they thought of it as something bestowed rather than revealed; and of his offer of himself and his experiences as a demonstration of his claim to sonship, his enemies made a blasphemy. "He maketh himself equal to God,"—though there must have been

even less of this in his spoken word than we find in the gospels, colored as they were by what came to be thought of him afterward.

A prolific source of confusion as to what Jesus really claimed for himself, is a class of sayings which find a counterpart in the oracles of Greece and Rome, in which the speaker takes on the character of the god without assuming godhead on his own account. Among these are the sayings so freely attributed to him by John, . . . "Come unto me all ye that labor. . . ." And again, "I am the door; by me if any man shall enter . . .", where he left off his own character to speak with the voice of the Spirit.

Once to every man, when he loves greatly, when he finishes a great work, or when a son is born, comes the moment when he feels himself the center of incalculable harmonies, moving with the tide of things, entitled to speak with authority. This is that state called mystical to which men like Jesus are natural inheritors, needing no adventitious human experience to keep them at its most fructifying levels. It is the state of active communion with God which may be attained by self-abnegation, which it is the object of religious fasting to capture and hold; that electrical indwelling, impossible to define, but needing only to be mentioned to those who have experienced it. This was that

bridegroom referred to by Jesus in answer to the Pharisees, "Can the children of the bride-chamber fast while the bridegroom is with them?"—the spirit of true enlightenment. In the village prayer-meeting you will hear it referred to as "the joy of the Lord," but the great Christian mystics like Santa Theresa and St. John of the Cross have used always to speak of it as Jesus often did in terms of espousal.

To one who understands these things it is perfectly intelligible that Jesus would deny the need of fasting to those of his disciples who already had "the bridegroom with them," without making any claim to personal preciousness.

To the fact that the immediate followers of Jesus were simple folk, next to the earth, so understanding his speeches when they were uttered, we may attribute the circumstance that no such claim was set up for him while he lived. For this also is a folk way—to dramatize the soul's intimate experience.

Perhaps the most striking of those utterances in which the personality of the speaker was lost in the character, without assuming the attributes, of God is the apostrophe to Jerusalem.

"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together . . . and ye would not!" The passage lacks the "Thus saith the Lord" of the earlier prophets, but it has all their high, impassioned quality.

It was not until years after his death, separated from the environment and from the man's vivifying personality, these sayings began to take on the character of announcements of divine identity. There is no evidence that Jesus thought at all of his own nature and attributes, of why he was chosen or how, to be the bearer of the Word. He was concerned not at all about himself, but greatly for the will of God. If there was assumption of any kind on his part, at the most it was the unclouded conviction that he knew God as no one had yet known Him, and that he was called to impart that knowledge to others.

It was in some such frame as this that he passed through Perea for the last time and came again to the borders of Judea.

§

Of the unwritten part of this journey it is possible to think that much can be traced in the life of the Christian community during the next half-score of years. How many were with him on the whole journey and how many joined him in the Rift of Jordan can only be conjectured, but he arrived in Jerusalem with a sufficient company of his Galilean friends to give to their intercourse a certain definite stamp. Here was the beginning of that strong sense of community interest, the shared bread, the daily worship, grace before meat,—habits

of living which characterized the first proselyting period of the new faith; the public testimony, the benediction, the hymn-singing. Above all, the gracious kindliness, the cheer, the contained and quiet joy which was shed as a savor from early Christian behavior. Such as they were he must have been—little vessels all of them overfilled at his fountain. (*By the watercourses of Reuben, great were the resolves of heart!*)

Here, too, must have been established that acceptance of women in the Father, so unequivocal that all Paul's prejudice could not afterward controvert it; he admitted them to argument, he permitted them to sit in privileged places. It does not appear that he anywhere expressed himself as opposed to any of the current notions of sex inferiority; rather to conduct himself as if he had not known such distinctions to exist. He had not one manner for the virtuous housewife and another for the woman of the town. He yielded to the argument of the Syrophœnician woman, and in a story told by John, which seems to be compounded of a half-remembered parable and some items of actual incident, he is shown revealing himself quite simply to a woman at a wayside well, a woman of the despised Samaritan sect, thought to be so far outside the grace of God as to be disbarred from the temple, but not beyond the reach of his gospel.

Not wholly authenticated, but true enough to the situation to have been true in fact, is an incident related in the book of Apostolic Ordinances. There had arisen, it appears, in the primitive church, the question of a separate ministry for women, for among the Jews women had never been admitted to the highest intimacies of religion. John was strongly for it, urging that there had been no women present at the last supper, whereat Mary was seen to smile. But when Martha called their attention to it she denied that she had laughed, "For," said she, "he told us beforehand when he taught, that the weak should be saved through the strong." Whether or not the incident occurred as related, the freedom of Jesus from every form of social prejudice was evident enough to pull the early church about from its Oriental bias toward the subordination of women, and face it definitely to the larger liberty of the West. Themselves in bondage to the habit of their upbringing, the women of his following probably took less than he would have allowed them; it is not recorded that he ever refused any one of them what she asked. He included them, good and bad, in that democracy of the spirit which established a minimum value for every soul of both sexes and all classes.

§

At the time the little company came down out of the high, veiled land of Moab, all Jewry was

afoot and astir in this business of the Passover. In the month Adar the temple tax was collected, roads were mended, sepulchers whitened lest any pilgrim suffer defilement. From every village a devoted band set forth; the poor on their own feet, the rich in litters; Jews of the dispersion; Alexandrine bankers riding on camels. All the stony lanes were choked with bleating lambs for the Paschal rite, heifers for sacrifice, vendors of doves moving under great pyramids of cages. Caravans went up—goods of Damascus, Egyptian dates, silks of Arabia. Every morning found hordes of market gardeners with their donkeys waiting for the opening of the gates. Great loads of palm branches, of green boughs cut from the jungle along Jordan, went in for the building of booths. In their gardens outside the city the rich set up pavilions—for there were no gardens within the holy city, lest the blown dust of manure defile the temple—and relived from Sabbath to Sabbath the years their fathers spent in the Wilderness.

Herod went up, needing greatly the public consent to his war with Aretas, and the countenance of the Roman authorities; Pontius Pilate, from his official seat at Cæsarea-by-the-sea, new Roman officials keen for this strange new festival, legionaries for the policing of the city. A million and a half—in favored years two million—pilgrims gathered

in Jerusalem. It was the time of the year's resurrection; the orchards budded, the tufted grass was greening, cyclamen came up in the clefts of the rock with round, shining leaves like shields of silver. Along the hard, white ways between the cactus hedges there was sound of psalm-singing.

Into all this pageantry of historical and religious observance Jesus came with his company, knowing the way he was to walk and able to walk in it. At the ford of Jordan, probably the same at which he was baptized, he was met by warning advices. "Depart hence. Herod will kill thee." To which he made answer, "Go tell that fox that to-day and to-morrow I cast out devils and do cures, and the third day I am perfected." A cryptic saying to his disciples, but if we read "finished" for perfected, clearly indicating that he knew his work so near an end that it was now immaterial what Herod should do to him. So with full courage he crossed over Jordan and stopped at Jericho, the fragrant. It sits in the midst of orchards close under the bluffs of Judea, having the glittering surface of the Dead Sea always on the south and the brown river flowing past. When the wind is right, blown gusts of the temple music come faintly down from Jerusalem, fifteen miles away. Here he spent the night and perhaps a Sabbath.

Two incidents, slight in themselves, illuminate

the public mind. He was addressed by a blind man as Son of David, and Zaccheus, the publican, climbed a tree that he might have a good look at the new prophet in the midst of the crowd that came out to meet him. For the movements of Jesus were noted; and to others than his immediate circle had spread the hope in him as the Messiah.

The road from Jericho to Jerusalem leads up a red gorge and its winding ridges, a hot, heavy way, blind, waterless. It figures chiefly as the scene of a parable which Jesus laid there, in which the falling among thieves was the likeliest, and the rescue by the good Samaritan the loveliest, that might have happened there. By this time there must have been a considerable company in the train of the man from Nazareth, traveling in a state of hardly suppressed excitement, for, says Luke, "They thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." They came singing, as befitted pilgrims, a song of going up, "songs of degrees," dating from the return from captivity.

I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills,

they sang, seeing the hill of Zion in the mind's eye long before they came in sight of it, and also

I was glad when they said unto me
Let us go into the house of the Lord!
Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!

for it was a great commemorative occasion, and there were many in that company who had not yet seen that most moving sight to any Jew, the holy city.

They would have been all the morning climbing up out of the sweltering Rift to the cool ridges. At Bethpage, where the road to Bethany turns off from the main highway, they took their nooning. Just around the shoulder of Olivet they would have had the first glimpse of Jerusalem. It burst upon them, transfigured in the slant afternoon light, a city walled up to heaven from the gulfs of Hinnom and Kidron. First they saw the citadel, then the white towers of Antonia, the gilded temple roofs, and the long arcade of Solomon's porch wreathed for the festival . . . *whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.* . . . And, looking on it, Jesus wept.

We can only conclude that what followed was born of the inspiration of the moment; it was part of that impassioned cry, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together!" which burst from him with all the warm and patriotic sentiment the sight of it stirred up, and with the knowledge deep in his own mind of what it was still to do to a prophet of Nazareth.

Perhaps the passage from Zacharia had just flashed upon his mind, "*Thy king shall come to thee, lowly and*

riding upon an ass. . . ." Jerusalem that dreamed of a Messiah sitting in the heavens, clothed in authority; Jerusalem that stoned the prophets should have a parable in the true prophetic manner, after the fashion of Isaiah, who walked three years barefoot without his upper garment, and of Zedekiah, who bound horns upon his forehead with which to push against the Syrians. Sending back to the village which they had just passed to borrow an ass which he had seen tied there—for there were beasts everywhere to be hired for the sight-seeing—Jesus came riding on it into the chief city of the Jews, a man of the masses, travel-stained, with long hair like a woman's.

So he fulfilled, for those who strained after these things, the strained letter of the prophecy. Viewed in any other light than that subtle spiritual irony of which he was master, the incident takes on a poor touch of human futility, and neither vanity nor futility had any place in him. To the simple Galileans, his followers, it appealed as an assumption of new dignities. They spread their garments before him, raising a loud Hosanna. From the temple porch across Kidron came an answering shout. It was caught up by the crowd in the street, and many curious and devout, who had listened to him in Galilee and Perea, came pouring out of the eastern gate, waving palms and welcoming:

Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!
Oh, give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good!

chanted the pilgrim band, and from the crowd streaming from the city gates came the antiphonal response:

For his mercy endureth for ever!

for so it was customary to receive pilgrims at the feast of the Passover. Throughout the capital it became known that the new prophet from Nazareth had arrived with his following.

Popular excitement must have died down very soon after the procession entered by the Eastern Gate. It tailed out in the narrow streets and lost itself in the vast throngs of the indifferent and merely curious. Nothing whatever happened. The diminishing band of enthusiasts made their way toward the temple, packed with the Jews of all Nations. It would have been about the hour of the evening sacrifice, the money-changers would have folded their tables, the vendors of doves had left for the day, the crowd was hushed and worshipful. Jesus and his handful of Galileans looked about on all the solemn wonders, and at evening retired to the village of Bethany.

The Lord is my strength and song
And he is become my salvation.
The voice of rejoicing and salvation
Is in the tabernacles of the righteous.
The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly.

The right hand of the Lord is exalted,
The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly,

I shall not die but live,
And declare the works of the Lord.
The Lord hath chastened me sore
But he hath not given me over unto death.
Open to me the gates of righteousness,
I will go into them, I will give thanks unto the Lord.

. . . . . .

I will give thanks unto thee, for thou hast answered me,
And art become my salvation.
The stone which the builders rejected
Is become the head of the corner.

This is the Lord's doing;
It is marvelous in our eyes.
This is the day the Lord hath made;
We will rejoice and be glad in it.
Save now, we beseech thee, O Lord;
O Lord, we beseech thee, send now prosperity.

[Part of the *Hallel* sung at the end of the Paschal supper.]

VII

CONSIDER the lair of the lion of Judah, how it is established on the prongs of the great central plateau, walled up to heaven. On Zion is is the citadel, Moriah is pieced out by solid piers of masonry to make room for the temple. Between them the tyropeon, the place of the merchants, leads down to Hinnom; round the eastern base sweeps the Valley of Jehoshaphat, through which flows Kidron. Gardens lie thick in the trough of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, but the ravine at the back of the city is called Gehenna, for rubbish is thrown there and a fire for ever consumes the city's slough and waste. Across Kidron rises the Mount of Olives, from which the land falls eastward by terraces to the valley of the shadow, which is Jordan. Always Jerusalem looks into the gulf, but never quite to the bottom of it, and east away the blue hills of Moab float upon the horizon and affect the imagination like the sea. Northward stretches the hill country of Judea, full of contour and color. Reasons like these as much as history, have to do with the pride of Jerusalem and its fierce resentment of overlordship. Herod

the Great being in part a Jew, held it with a strong, cruel hand; Archelus could not hold it at all; and Pontius Pilate, at this time Procuator, lost it.

But before Rome took her the worst had already happened to Jerusalem. She had fallen into the hands of the hierarchy. Political imposition is a yoke upon men's necks, but the rule of priests is a fetter to the understanding. When Pilate ordered the Roman standards into the city, standards bearing the image of the Emperor and hence an abomination, the Sanhedrin opposed him and won; when he set up votive shields in Herod's palace the four sons of Herod headed the protest to Rome; when he spent the temple treasure on an aqueduct he had the whole priestly party against him; but when a man came freely speaking his opinion of priests and the conduct of the temple, they made of the Procurator the instrument of his destruction. Whether they fought Pilate or used him, the mainspring of action was always the preservation of their Levitical authority.

Probably they thought they were right—it is one of the prime necessities of men in large numbers that they should think so of themselves—but one thing they knew, and that was that it was profitable. Here we touch on one other factor of the Hebrew religion which determined the development of Christianity as the soil on which it is reared determines

the harvest. We have seen how Jesus rooted himself in the reality of moral principle; all that follows goes to show how the survival of his teaching was shaped by the profound Hebrew conviction of the efficacy of sacrifice. The pagan gave to his gods when there was need or when he felt happy, but Israel gave also because there was virtue in giving. He gave whether God saved or destroyed him; he gave more or less as God prospered him—the one essential was that he should keep on giving. Israel took up the principle of sacrifice, which is an indeterminate element of all religion, and made it over with the aid of the business instinct.

What had been revealed to him as the soul's supremest need had become a system. It was no longer sacrifice, but tribute. As a people, Jews had spread over the known world, but the heart of Jewry still beat at Jerusalem; it was the one place where offering was acceptable to the Lord. Wherever a faithful Jew was found, from him to the temple trickled a thin stream of gold. It came from Rome and Egypt and Babylonia; it came even from a prophet in Galilee and his twelve disciples. That Jesus very clearly distinguished between tribute and sacrifice is evident from the remark credited to him on the payment of the temple tax. Tribute was a thing which might be exacted of strangers, but never of the Children; between them and the Father

no such necessity existed. Nevertheless, he released one of his disciples to go a-fishing to raise the money, that no offense might be given. He conformed to the custom rather than, by raising an issue, delay a greater matter; but his attitude toward the abuses growing out of the system brooked no compromise.

The abuses were precisely those which a few centuries later sprang up among his name people; for Israel had hit upon the one plan by which a hierarchy may be consistently maintained, and Christianity, blindly led by the blind, fell into the same ditch. Whether it is called tribute or modernly disguised as "systematic giving," it is only where sacrifice ceases to be the soul's highest voluntary function and becomes a habit, that the priesthood attains to temporal power. The constant flow of tribute into Jerusalem had begotten a ring of grafters as invincible and corrupt as ever controlled a modern municipality. There were officials for collecting tribute and for transmitting it, merchants of exchange who sat in the temple porch to exchange coin of all countries for the temple half-shekel, paying heavily for the privilege. There were inspectors of beasts bought for sacrifice, who had to be compounded; vendors of temple wares—incense, phylacteries, reliquaries, such things as are sold immemorially about temples. Altogether the temple rake-off amounted to about forty thousand dollars yearly.

All this was organized and in a measure controlled by one Annas, ex-high priest, with his five sons, priests all, and Caiphas, his son-in-law, high priest for the current occasion.

How much of this was known to Jesus and his disciples in Galilee is a matter of conjecture. Between affairs at the capital and the mass of the people stood the sect of the Sadducees, adroit, worldly, deriving authority solely from the books of Moses, discrediting the prophets; they intrigued alike with Rome and the priesthood, feathering their own nests. Not unknown to Jesus, they drew less of his condemnation than the Pharisees by making fewer pretensions. It is probable, however, that the Galileans had heard a rumor of these things as villagers hear them, things which they felt themselves knowing to believe or virtuous in denying. That nothing was farther from their thoughts on the second morning, when they walked in from Bethany, can be easily gathered from what followed.

Jesus had spent the night at the house around which lingers the tradition of Martha, careful about many things, and Mary, who chose the better part in choosing to hear of the Kingdom. Bethany lies on the Jordan side of Olivet, hid from the city; Bethpage is at the junction on the Bethany road with the great public highway; from here is one continuous suburb of hamlet and garden to the foot of

which shows how Jerusalem went with its tongue in its cheek in respect to the temple management. A more interesting commentary even is the fact that not a word of all this leaked through to the Roman authorities. Here was the most influential group of Jerusalemities manhandled and affronted in their own temple, and nothing whatever is heard of the police, no complaint for assault is lodged. It is a commentary on the utter indefensibility of the temple traffic, and the only tribute paid by organized Jewry to the prophetic character of Jesus. In that brief period of hesitation was let slip the occasion to deal with him as an ordinary disturber of public worship. In spite of themselves they were forced to deal with him as a public character.

Deal with him they must, and that speedily. For not only had he driven out the traffic, but he continued to hang about the temple, both that day and the next, supported by his twelve stalwart Galileans, preaching to the people and enforcing by the moral weight of his presence the embargo on everything not consistent with the traditions of the sanctuary. And this while there were perhaps two or three hundred thousand pilgrims in the city waiting to be fleeced. Plainly the man was a nuisance and must be disposed of. They went about it in a manner truly Hebraic.

The first movement was to send a delegation to

inquire by what authority he did these things, knowing that he had no rabbinical certificates, and thinking to discredit him with the public, for Hebraism is before all else a religion of authority. Jesus countered with another question.

"The baptism of John, was it from heaven or of me?"

He had them there, for if they said "Of heaven," why, then, had they not believed it? And they dared not say of men lest the multitude who counted John a prophet, be moved against them. So, neatly caught between the clefts of their own question, they withdrew from the first encounter, and in the mean time Jesus had the ear of the people. He preached there in the temple, so full of his message that he snatched it from the very stones which in wonder they showed him—for the temple had been forty years in building, and was judged one of the wonders of the world—he drew from the widow casting her mite into the box of the treasury; he lifted up his eyes from Solomon's porch and saw the tombs of the prophets whitened newly for the season of the pilgrimage, and found in them the figure of hypocrisy, going smug without and inwardly full of corruption and dead men's bones.

On the very day of the cleaning of the temple, while the rumor of it still ran about the pillars of Solomon's porch, he spoke a parable in which he

quite explicitly stated that publicans and harlots should go into the kingdom before the chief priests and their following. He scored the Pharisees afresh, "devourers of widows' houses, making long prayers for a pretense," seeing in their pious humbug the greatest menace to his teaching. Moving in imminent peril of his life, he moved as freely as among his Galilean hills, preaching in the temple daily and on the Mount of Olives walking between the orchards discoursing of the kingdom. It was as if he understood that he was now at the end of his ministry, and was concerned merely to draw out and define again its salient teaching. In and out of a dozen brilliant parables flashed the doctrine of the kingdom as a thing to be done, a task set and achieved, a charge to keep. Men believed, and, believing, acted, and in doing were saved . . . "for inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

That he missed no point of the situation is evident from his appeal to the preaching of John, knowing the Baptist to have had a firmer hold than himself on the popular imagination, and also from the spirit with which he evaded the next trap which they set for him.

Unable, on the one hand, to discredit him with the populace, they sought, on the other, to set him at odds with Pilate. The approach was well cal-

culated on the basis of his being a Galilean, one of that tribe among whom had developed the most invincible opposition to the Roman authority. Now, as one regarding not the person of man, would he or would he not advise them to give tribute to Cæsar? But the answer, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's," left them exactly where they were before, if, in fact, it did not leave them a trifle more discomfited, for he had glanced here at the custom of paying divine honors to emperors, to which they had been a shade too complaisant. Then came the Sadducees mocking, with a question trumped up about a resurrection from the dead—a possibility in which they did not in the least believe—and were answered out of their own Pentateuch in the words of their only prophet, Moses. In this fashion Jesus fenced for time, that he might drive home his message.

But the Pharisees, when they heard how he had reduced the Sadducees to silence, plumed themselves and came asking, "Which is the great commandment?" Only they themselves knew what advantage they hoped for in the answer to such a question; what came neither they nor the world has ever been able wholly to handle. Said Jesus:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy mind and with all thy strength,

and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two hang all the law and the prophets."

Then, suddenly wearied of question which had no honest query of the heart behind it, he turned on them with an exegetical problem so exactly in their own manner and so impossible to answer that it put an end once for all to that form of inquisition. Balked in wit, the priestly party turned to the one instrument which they understood perfectly, money. With money, somewhere in his defenses they might find a weakness; seeking for it by means not unpractised, they found Judas, the only one of the disciples not a Galilean.

§

The compounding of Judas with the agents of Caiphas is connected by tradition with an incident that occurred on Wednesday evening at the house of one Simon, at Bethany, where the Master was being entertained at supper. No doubt Judas felt gulled and disappointed. Perhaps he had friends in the city to wag a sly finger at him. Here they were at Jerusalem, and no kingdom; here, after nearly a year of following, still unaccepted, dependent on the chance hospitality of villagers, they who should have feasted in kings' houses! Thirty pieces of silver, about four months' wages, was not much to one who had expected to sit on one of the twelve thrones of Israel, but all that they wanted of him

was that he should guide the temple police to his Master when few or none were by. He could have had no idea what was really to be done to Jesus, for the Sanhedrin itself had no notion, and was hard put to it, once they had taken the prophet, to find an accusation against him which would be acceptable to the Roman authorities. And surely if the man was the Messiah, when the police laid hands on him he would have to declare himself. So Judas must have mused inwardly while the supper went forward and the uninvited, in the friendly Eastern fashion, edged up to catch some crumbs of wisdom as they fell from the prophet.

And as he mused came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment, very costly, which she poured upon the head of Jesus. Thus it was done by the rich to guests of great distinction; but the thrifty folk of Bethany were shocked at it as an extravagance. How much more virtuous to have sold the ointment and given the money to the poor! This is what is called an eminently practical suggestion; but the practicality of prophets is in another sort. "Let her alone," said Jesus, "the poor ye have with ye always . . ." subject to our poor mechanical pieties. Once for all he ranged himself on the side of the generous risks of the faith which, having risked, finds itself set aside for distinguished service.

"Lord," all they who sat with him might have

afterward said, "had we known you were to die, we too would have anointed thee," but it is only of those who, knowing no more than the rest, act freely on the impulse of the spirit, of whom these things are told in memorial. Judas, who is imagined as protesting most, Judas who carried the bag for the twelve, and was no doubt elected to that office because of his eminent practicality, found in the incident the touch of futility which inclined him in the high priest's favor. He may even have thought, as is the way with the practical, that Jesus was prone to be feasted and fussed over, and that he would spur him on to his obvious mission, which was to take possession of Jerusalem and declare the kingdom.

The next day was spent by the little company in retirement among the budding orchards of Olivet, either as a preparation for the Passover or because they understood that the tide of popular interest, which had set in their favor for a day or two, had rolled back in its accustomed channel. They were swept under by it with scarcely a ripple on the surface of the city's festivity. From the walled hilltop came a murmur like a hive; the valleys were tremulous with the bleating of two hundred thousand lambs led up for the Paschal rite. High over it rang the silver trumpets, the chanting choirs, the beat of mystic dances, all the mingled sound of Israel remembering

his God magnificently. Processions choked the streets, pilgrim parties, Pilate going ceremoniously to call on visiting sovereignties, and these calling on the governor again. In the Roman circus under the wall there were plays and spectacles.

The backward cast of history has warped out of all proportion the part that was played here by the man from Nazareth and his twelve. They were, in fact, completely submerged in the great national commemoration. But history has not shown us a more appealing humanness than that of their leader, yearning in the midst of jeopardy for the hour of exalted communion with the race that rejected him, even though to make sure of passing it with his disciples he put forward the supreme observance by a day.

"With what great desire," he said, "have I desired to eat this Passover with you." To miss nothing of its full flavor he ventured back within the sacred precinct, where the arm of his enemies reached with power, to a room that had been reserved for him—by tradition in the house of Mark's father. Here, when the shadow of the temple reached to Olivet and the seven-branched candlesticks were lit, he repaired with the twelve to an upper chamber to keep the immemorial festival of his people.

Of this no single authentic detail is preserved to us except what is common to the Paschal ritual.

That the nearness of his death and the certainty of being betrayed to it by one of his disciples was foremost in his mind, we gather from what was recalled afterward, and also that it was not understood at the time by any of the disciples, except perhaps Judas. The words reported are unequivocal, but in the light of the subsequent behavior of the disciples we conclude that none of the references to his death had yet the force of an announcement. Still less can we accept the personal turn which was read back into the occasion by Paul of Tarsus. All that is historically admissible is that at some point in the ritualistic meal, either when he lifted the broken bread . . . (*This is the bread of misery which our fathers ate in the land of Egypt*), or when the Cup of Blessing was poured, he said, "As often as ye do this do it in remembrance of me"—that is to say, as often as ye eat the Passover remember me; a natural human suggestion, for he knew that he should not drink of the fruit of the vine again in this fashion. This is as far as history dare go; but there is no reason why the believing heart may not go farther and stoutly assert its right to the symbol of a communion of spirit of which Jesus himself felt the need.

Another incident of this last supper has come down to us only in that second-century record to which reference has been made, but, like the story of the

woman taken in adultery, making good its claim by its complete harmony with what he knew both of the man Jesus and his manner of teaching. Somewhere near the end of the ritual he took a towel and girt himself, and, pouring water into a basin, he washed the feet of his disciples. But, Peter protesting, he said, "If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me." And the impulsive Peter, linking the act with the symbol of cleansing, offered himself, not his feet alone, but his head, his hands also. But the words that followed are explicit enough. "Ye call me lord and master and ye say well, for so I am. If I, then, your lord and master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." In such fashion the man from Nazareth completed the round of his teaching;—to forgive, to love, and to serve. "If ye know these things, happy are ye that ye do them."

It was late when the meal was over; Judas had already gone on an errand more than suspected. The others had sung the last of the *Hallel* the solemn and suggestive song of Israel's triumph:

I shall not die but live,

he sang, who was so near dissolution,

And show forth the works of the Lord.

The hour was upon them.

There is a hint here, in the record of Luke, that Jesus was not at all certain that he would not be apprehended before he was out of the city, and that his motive in returning to the suburbs was to give to his companions a freedom of action which in the unfamiliar, crowded streets would not have been possible. It goes to show, too, that there was nothing miraculous in his foreknowledge, and that he drew it largely from his acute perception of character rather than from any mysterious faculty of prevision. Except as he gathered it from the cupidity of Judas and the volatile temperament of Peter, he really did not know just what was about to come upon them. For as much as he understood he prepared them. Every man was to take his own purse and his staff, remembering the time he had first sent them forth without purse or scrip or shoes and yet lacking nothing. Anticipating the possibility of their having to cut their way out of the city, he advised that any man having two coats should sell one and buy a sword. Presently Peter showed him two, and one of them certainly Peter carried.

The city hummed with the sounds of festivity—lamps lit in the upper chambers, family reunions, hurrying groups of belated pilgrims,—as between two swords the little company passed out almost under the temple, whose great gates would be flung open

at midnight, by the north gate into the Valley of Jehoshaphat and across Kidron. At this season the little creek would have been at flood, frothing in its stony channel. There was a full, watery moon, and the smell of sap from the orchards. Up a little way from Kidron toward Olivet was a walled garden called Gethsemane, the place of the oil-press, to which he had the owner's leave to repair for rest and privacy. Here the noise of the city fell off and there was no sound louder than the babble of the brook and the soft chafing of boughs. Taking James and Peter and John with him, leaving the others at the gate, Jesus advanced further into the garden, and when he had charged the three to pray lest they fall into temptation, he went about a stone's-throw from them and, kneeling, addressed himself to the Father.

No doubt the three obeyed the injunction; but the prayers of simple men are soon done. They prayed for their own souls and the speedy coming of the kingdom; then between waking and dozing they heard Jesus say, "Abba, Father, all things are possible to Thee; take away this cup from me, . . ." but, understanding nothing of what troubled him, they fell presently into the deep sleep of workingmen.

To understand anything of the travail of soul, the first which possessed Jesus since the Wilderness, we have to realize how absolutely voluntary was his sur-

render to the occasion which was even now seeking him through the streets of Jerusalem. There was no indictment against him, and no offense except as he created it by his attack on the temple traffic. He was now outside the city gates with the eleven faithful, each with his own scrip at his side and his staff in his hand, and with at least two swords. Twenty minutes away in Bethany there were friendly folk, and all about them the hill country of Judea, as safe to the hill men of Galilee as his mountain is safe to the wild goat. And once back in their own country, the Sanhedrin would have had no power over them, and, so long as they kept to that district, no use for them. There Jesus might have lived, teaching and healing a few, and, provided he committed no overt act against the political organization or the business interests of his time, esteemed a holy man and dying at last in the odor of sanctity. Nothing that we know of Jesus, however, permits us to think that he ever contemplated such an alternative. Once for all he had committed himself to the venture of a rational faith. He had prayed that death might be turned aside, but not that he himself should turn aside from it. What distinguished him from all other Treaders of the Way was the close correspondence between his will and his perception, so that he is seen to move forward in his appointed path with none of the fumblings and

hesitancies of lesser men. He had none of the feeling of moral helplessness which characterizes reformers of our time. It is too much even to say that he chose, except as the soul is thought of as saving itself alive by continuing in an active state of choosing; inbreathing, outbreathing. He suffered as a man the consequences of his instinctive selection, but there is no evidence that he suffered indecision. Here in the garden his quick mind outran the occasion and assailed him with the bitterness of betrayal, humiliation, and seeming defeat; the sensitive frame worked out the suggestion of physical anguish. So between waking and sleeping the three heard him say, "nevertheless not what I will, but what Thou wilt," and observed that great drops of sweat stood upon him. All unconsciously they laid upon him the peculiar burden of the great, to know themselves even by those on whose account they accept greatness, wholly uncomprehended. For when, from what high and unknowable source, help had at last flowed back to him, he found the three still sleeping.

"Sleep on," he said, "take your rest; the hour is come." And a little later, hearing a noise at the gate: "Rise up, let us go. Behold he that betrayeth me is at hand." While he was yet speaking came Judas with a detachment of the temple police to arrest him. They found him as by report

the world had come to know him, contained, courteous, ironical. Said he, "Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves to take me?" And again, as they bound him, "I was daily with you in the temple teaching and ye took me not." After that silence.

§

Too much is always made of the defection of the twelve, and not enough of the fact that Jesus pointedly turned his back on them. In the flurry of the arrest one had cried out, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" and Peter, without waiting for the injunction, drew his own sword and sliced the ear of the high priest's servant. But, "Put up thy sword," said the Master, "the cup which my Father hath given me shall I not drink it!" Not only did Jesus refuse their aid in this crisis, but it is not of record that he referred to them again, sent for them, left any message. To them the Word had been committed; the last thing he could have wished would be to implicate them in his disaster. The last thing they would have thought of would be to act in opposition to his suggestion. They were children of the earth, whose instinct in danger is to be still and to keep on being still. Not knowing what was best to be done, they did nothing. Several of them had their families with them, whose safety was their first concern. Only Peter followed the guard afar off, and

from him and what could be gleaned from the common report all our account of that night's doings are derived.

The key to the situation is to be found in the fact that Jesus was first taken, not to the high priest who had ordered his arrest, but to the house of that arch-grafter, Annas. The difficulty was that the chief reason why Jesus must be put out of the way—his interference with the temple traffic—nobody dared mention. Evidently not all the Sanhedrin shared or approved of the buying and selling within the sanctuary. Here we have a thoroughly modern situation: a representative body in the main well intentioned, manipulated by a group within the group, whose spring of action was illegitimate profit. Some indictment of Jesus must be found which would not only appeal to the majority of the Sanhedrin, but would look well before the Roman governor. For the Sanhedrin had for some time been deprived of the death sentence; the most they could do would be to represent Jesus as guilty of death by the Jewish law, and to persuade Pilate to fix that penalty. And none so competent to have that business in hand as the Sadducean Annas. Eminently safe as a churchman, not troubled by particular scruples, wealthy, astute, he was easily the man to get the better of the comparatively honest and tactless Procurator.

What passed between Jesus and the ex-high priest is not known except that Annas sent him bound to Caiphas; where before the hastily summoned Sanhedrin an attempt was made by means of false witnesses to implicate Jesus in a charge of sedition. It was perhaps not the best charge to make before a tribunal hating Rome as the Sanhedrists hated it. Somebody was found who had heard Jesus say something that could be tortured into a threat to overthrow the temple in three days and build it again. This was plainly anarchical, but even here there was no agreement between the witnesses. When all else failed Caiphas made his final cast; no doubt he had been instructed thereto by Annas; possibly he delayed, fearing to invite in the innermost circle of Israel so stirring a declaration. Made before the common people, it would have been answered with a cry, but here in the heart of the priestly aristocracy it struck offensively across every tradition of caste and religion. Said Caiphas, "Art thou the Christ, the son of the living God?"

And Jesus answered, "I am."

Whereupon the high priest rent his garment as was proper to a high priest on hearing a blasphemy.

"What need have ye of further witnesses?" he cried. "What think ye?" And the elders of Israel judged him guilty of death.

The while this was in progress Peter had come

into the open court of the high priest's palace and gleaned what he could among the loafing guard. About cock-crow a maid-servant hanging about for a bit of chaff with the soldiers looked down from the gallery and saw him warming himself at the charcoal brazier.

"Thou also wast with this man from Nazareth," she cried to him, accusingly, but he denied it and in the very denial gave evidence against himself, for one to whom the broad Galilean dialect was known insisted, "Surely thy speech betrayeth thee." And Peter, thinking of nothing, perhaps, but how he could keep on hanging about until he learned what was taking place behind the high palace windows, began to curse and swear, saying, "I know not the man." Hardly had he finished speaking when far down the Tyropœon a cock crew shrilly. Then Peter remembered how the evening before Jesus had said to him in the very moment of protesting loyalty, "Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me," and he went away, weeping bitterly.

It was as well for Peter that he missed what was going on within the high priest's apartments at that moment—the spectacle of the chief priests of Israel drawing aside their garments from contamination as they passed, and spitting in the face of a young Jewish working-man who stood bound in the palace of Caiphas. In the interval between this and the

time when it would be possible to go to the Prætorium with the prisoner the guard relieved the chill morning watch with a crude game played on the prophet of Nazareth. Blindfolded, they slapped at him, saying: "Prophesy! Who was it that smote thee?"

In order that Pilate should rise out of bed at seven in the morning to hear who blasphemed the God of the Jews and who regarded Him, some pressure must be brought to bear, for which Annas could be trusted. It was important to secure both judgment and execution before the news of the arrest of Jesus had spread in the city, but this was not the first time the Sanhedrists had had their way in spite of the Procurator, and if all else failed there was the well-known capacity of Annas to make generous loans to his friends in the Prætorium. Morning found Pilate on the Judgment seat, but it also found him reluctant. It is even said, with color of probability, that his reluctance extended to the point of sending Jesus to Herod whom he hated, as being a Galilean and therefore out of the Procurator's jurisdiction. But Herod, more than ever needing the public countenance, and shy of prophets since his experience with John the Baptist, after he had satisfied a course curiosity about the Galilean, sent him back again.

The charge brought against Jesus by the San-

hedrists was that he had claimed to be king of the Jews. There was a measure of guile in this, for on nothing was Rome so severe as on political offenders, but it is also probable that it was the only way in which they could convey to the Roman mind what was implied in Jesus' announcement that he was the Messiah. The Christ had always been thought of as a king and of the Davidic line. One can imagine, too, a certain Jewish reluctance to have the mysteries of their religion pawed over by this Roman hireling.

The claim, if it had been made, was certainly seditious, and Pilate had the man scourged for it, and again he would have let him go. There was a custom of releasing a prisoner at this season, concerning which and its bearing on the manner of the death of Jesus there are many nice problems for scholars, reaching deep into ancient Hebrew practice. It is enough here to state that when the Procurator suggested that he so release Jesus, the rabble who heard him clamored instead for one Barabbas, a direct-actionist of that time, one who in a recent insurrection in the city had done killing.

All this took place in the court of the governor's palace, Pilate speaking from the gallery, for the Jews would not go into the house of a heathen, lest they defile themselves for the Passover, for they were the leading men of Jerusalem and an example to the

citizens. There were present the chief priest, the accusers of Jesus, and certain of their following, together with such of the idle and curious who could be picked up in the streets so early in the morning, knowing little of the affair, but taking their cue from the majority. But among them all, probably no friend of Jesus. That is why it is impossible to say which of the things written, if any, really happened; whether the governor's wife had a dream, whether Pilate washed his hands—a Hebrew custom and not likely to be adopted by a Roman—whether that question, What is truth? was ever asked and went unanswered. Out of all these obscurities but one thing sounds unmistakably, it was the raucous shout of the mob led by the Sanhedrists, crying, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"

"Why, what evil hath he done?" asks the governor, and again, "Crucify him!" And Pilate, weary at last of the whole affair, delivered him to be crucified.

§

Outside the north wall of the city, going out by the Damascus gate, and in plain sight from the longest road that goes over the Bridge, is the place of public execution called Golgotha. Here, about nine of the morning before the feast of the Passover, Jesus was led to be crucified, and with him they crucified two thieves, for it was the custom to re-

serve one or two executions for festival times as an example. What had happened in the interim belonged to the time and the manner of his transgression; allowing for the formality of the inquiry and for the sending to Herod, the time of his torment must have been mercifully short. It was important to have Jesus out of the way before the terrified and astounded followers could rally to his defense. He went out as other malefactors, bearing his cross, attended by four soldiers and a few of the idle and curious. In front of him was carried a board on which was written his offense—*This is the King of the Jews.* There was a sting in this for the Sanhedrists, over which Pilate chuckled. "Say not," they protested, "this is the king, but that he said he was king."

Said the Roman, "It is written." He was not in a yielding humor.

There was another group in the little company that followed Jesus out of the Damascus gate deserving some mention—a company of the good women of Jerusalem who made it a work of mercy to succor the transgressor. For the code of Moses was at all points merciful; neither crucifixion nor any other lingering death was allowed under it. In pursuance of their custom, these came now offering Jesus the solace of their weeping. On the cross they offered him wine to drink mixed with hyssop for the dead-

ening of his pains, and though he would not take it, it was the sole relieving incident.

As the day wore three or four of the women of Galilee who had come up to Jerusalem in his company came stealing by the hill path from Olivet and, standing some distance off, observed what was done to him. The soldiers sat on the ground and diced for his garments. The crowd grew and thinned and grew again, for was he not accounted a prophet from whom even in extremity wonders might be expected? Smoke of sacrifice streamed out like a banner over Mount Moriah; clearly they heard the sonorous chant of the Levites and the windy trumpets. All up the hills of Judea showed the pale, silvered green of olives and the almond-orchards turning rosy. Now and then out of the crowd some one reviled him, saying, "He saved others, himself he cannot save." Toward the middle of the afternoon one of his poor, tortured companions cried out of agony, "If thou be the Christ save thyself and us." But the other, "Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." And "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," said Jesus. So it is reported, but neither they that had heard nor they that wrote it were of the prophet's following.

About the ninth hour, at the time when the Paschal lamb should be slain as an expiation for all Israel, the strained frame yielded a moment to unendurable

anguish. He cried out with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" and almost immediately those nearest heard him say, "I thirst." But when one more compassionate would have offered him on a sponge the sour wine of the soldiers, there were others who, mistaking the Aramaic words "Eloi, Eloi" for the name of the prophet, said, "Wait, let us see whether Elias will take him," for they were disappointed that there was yet no miracle. And while they waited, with a great cry he bowed his head and died.

Ordinarily the crucified are three or four days dying, but the approach of the Passover made it a defilement, according to the Jewish law, for them to be left hanging there in extremity. Therefore, about the time the shadow of the temple, stretching eastward, reached to Olivet, the Sanhedrists directed that death should be hastened, as was customary, by the breaking of the victim's legs. So it was done to the thieves, but when they came to Jesus it was not necessary, for they discovered that the spirit had already left him.

Jesus saith *Unless ye fast to the world ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; except ye keep the Sabbath ye shall not see the Father.*

Jesus saith *I stood in the midst of the world and in the flesh I was seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart.*

Jesus saith *Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there they shall find me, cleave the wood and there am I also.*

Jesus saith *. . . and the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it . . . (strive therefore) . . . to know yourself and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the Father.*

Jesus saith *Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised.*

[New sayings of Jesus from two papyri discovered at Oxyrhyncus, 1897-1903. Translated by Grenfell and Hunt.]

VIII

SOME six or eight weeks after these events, at the time when the feast of the first fruits of the harvest was kept at Jerusalem, the inhabitants of that city were astonished to find Simon Peter preaching Jesus boldly as the Christ, and him risen from the dead. There stood up with him on that occasion about a hundred and twenty true believers, among whom were the eleven—for Judas, when he understood what he had done, went out and hanged himself—together with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and James, his brother, and many who had been added to their company by reason of the rising from the dead which Peter declared to men of all nations, Medes and Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia and Cappadocia and Egypt, in the parts of Lybia, strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes. This was the Peter who had denied Jesus with oaths in the house of the high priest, who now preached somewhat in this fashion—how that Jesus had been approved of God by many signs and wonders, had been crucified, dead and buried, the third day he arose from the dead and had appeared to

Mary Magdalene, to the eleven, and to a considerable company of the disciples. Unlettered as Peter was, such was the faith and fervor of his preaching that on that same day about three thousand converts were added to the number of believers.

Something had certainly happened to these reticent and easily shaken peasant souls to raise them to the plane of spiritual conviction, from which neither revilings nor martyrdom could dislodge them; *something* which had not only rallied them from the shock of his shameful death, but had clarified and fused the teachings of Jesus as the whole of his living ministry had not done. It had reached out beyond the circle of his personal following and convinced of his absolute Messiahship many who had so far accepted Jesus only as a teacher. This is the first unequivocal mention that we have of the members of Jesus' own family among his followers; all that could be gathered at Jerusalem, filled with the holy spirit and praising God daily.

Unfortunately, no first-hand account of the events which had worked this astounding revolution has come down to us; but something can be made out under the legendizing tendency of the time at which it was finally committed to writing. Separated from the suggestion of the supernatural, with which everything that Jesus did began very quickly to be colored, incidents of the resurrection show an ar-

resting consistency with the occasion and its background.

It had been about three of the afternoon when Jesus bowed his head upon the cross with a great cry, and a little before sunset when, in compliance with the Jewish regulation, the body had been taken down. It had been given, at his own request, into the hands of one Joseph of Arimathea, probably a member of the larger Sanhedrin, one of those who had not consented to the death of Jesus, and in any case a man sufficiently in authority to win such a concession from Pilate. It was now too close to the eve of the Passover to admit of any proper rite of burial, so that the body was merely wrapped in a clean linen cloth saturated with spices, after the Hebrew custom, and laid in a new rock tomb not far from Golgotha. The women of Galilee, who had watched the crucifixion from afar off, followed and marked where it was laid. It lay wrapped in a cloth pungent with aromatic and preservative drugs, with no confining coffin, and about it played the cool airs of the garden. One must consider also the condition of the body, how that it was not broken, and that it had at most the marks of scourging, the nail-holes in the hands and feet, and possibly a spear-prick in the side. This is to allow the utmost to tradition. Of such wounds none are necessarily fatal, and the spear-wound does not appear in any

but the second-century gospel, where it is related with curious commentary that blood flowed from it; but blood does not flow from dead bodies. It was not invariable in crucifixion that the feet were impaled, but sometimes the hands only. It is to be remembered, also, that the body which lay there in the rocky tomb was that of a well man of great hardihood, a man who at first turn of the tide of consciousness could have reached out and laid hold on the eternal source of healing. Whether or not we are to believe that the tide did so turn and bore him flooding back to life, there is much in the gospel narrative to give color to such a supposition.

It does not come clear to us as does the story that was afterward told of his birth, pure legend, arched and sculptured into a perfect tabernacle wherein is laid up the choicest treasure of the heart, with kings and shepherds, angel choirs and lowing kine, to signify all that his coming meant to humanity, but lies embedded, as the fact story so often does lie, in all the crossing and contradictory statements of it. It is a story of a thing that was known to a scant score of timid and illiterate folk sojourning in a great city, a thing kept secret on its own account and whispered cautiously from ear to ear in fear of the authorities. Finally, when it was some time past, blazoned as a mystery, and only committed to writing after some forty or fifty years.

Yet still the story preserves the form of veridicity. It begins on the morning of the third day, as soon as it was light, with the women of Galilee stealing forth from Bethany or wherever on Olivet their camp might be, for it is certain that the disciples were not lodged in the city. They came by dew-wet orchard paths beside which here and there sprang the little low green-veined flowers, called stars of Bethlehem. High over them the temple walls began to take the day upon their gilded pinnacles; they heard the clatter at the gates from the guard changing, and the hordes of market gardeners with their donkeys waiting to be let in. They found the garden which is close to Golgotha, and then along the limestone outcrop they followed the line of tombs to the one that they had marked. Accounts differ as to why they came, with what purpose to prepare the body for more ceremonious burial, and what happened when they had come, but agree in this—that they found the rock-cut tomb empty and the grave-cloth lying at one side.

Two of the three went back with this message to the disciples, but Mary Magdalene remained walking and weeping in the garden. And as she walked Jesus spoke to her, but she, thinking it was the gardener—for by this time he had got some sort of garment upon him—said to him:

"Oh, sir, if you know where they have laid him,

tell me that I may take him away." Then he called her by her name:

"Mary!"

"Rabboni," she answered, instinctively, to the familiar tone, and, turning, she knew him. She would have kissed his feet, perhaps, or fingered a fold of his garment to make sure if it were really he or a vision of thin air, but he, sensitive from his wounding, drew back.

"Touch me not," he said, and then, reassuring, "I am *not yet* ascended to my Father." Then he bade her go and say to the disciples he would meet them in a place they knew of in Galilee, and so departed out of her knowledge.

One hears how Peter and John, when the women brought them word, came running and stooped down and looked into the empty tomb, not knowing what to make of it. And the next we hear is that two of his disciples, but not of the twelve, and therefore not so familiar with his countenance, walked from Jerusalem to their home at Emmaus. This would have been about a week later, for so the feast of unleavened bread was prolonged from the day of the Paschal supper; and as they walked they talked of the things which had been done at the Passover. Talking thus, they were accosted by one who inquired of them what manner of communication they had with one another that they should be

so sad. And one of them, whose name was Cleophas, answered him with an account of all that had happened, speaking of Jesus as a prophet whom the rulers had condemned to be crucified, "But," said Cleophas, "we trusted that it had been he that should have redeemed Israel."

"O fools," said the stranger, "and slow of heart to believe all the prophets have spoken!" Then he began to show them out of the scriptures how it was necessary that the Messiah should suffer these things, feeling his way like a true Hebrew back by the law and the prophets, star-lighted sayings that shot like meteors across the shames and humiliations of the crucifixion. As he held up the events of the last few days to the familiar scriptures, new meanings came out like secret writing held before a flame, and as he talked the hearts of his companions burned within them. It was twilight when they approached the village and heard the cheerful barking of the dogs and the lowing of cattle in the byres. There, as they drew near to the house of one of them, the dusk falling and the cry of the night-jar shaken out in a shrill spray of sound above the strips of tillage, they urged him to come in to supper and a bed with them. But as he sat at table he blessed the bread, according to a custom which was well known of him, and, putting off the covering from his head, in Hebrew fashion after the blessing, suddenly they

knew him. When he perceived that he was known, and that they spoke neither to him nor to one another for astonishment, he rose and slipped away into the dusk.

We hear of him again when the disciples are met together secretly for fear of the authorities, coming unexpectedly into their midst and saying, "Peace be to you, . . ." for they were affrighted, supposing they had seen a spirit. "Behold my hands and my feet. . ." he said; "handle me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones." And while they wondered between joy and amazement, he asked them what food they had; and when they had offered him broiled fish and honey in the honeycomb, he ate before them, talking the while, as he had to the two at Emmaus, of the relation of prophecy to the things which had happened to him and to them at Jerusalem. Twice he met with his disciples in this fashion, and the second time he was handled by Thomas, who, being absent on the first occasion, had declared that unless he could lay his finger in the print of the nails he would not believe.

There seems to have been some doubt in the early records whether these meetings with the teacher took place at Jerusalem or in Galilee; but as to the two meetings yet to be mentioned there can be no question. To Galilee Jesus would naturally have turned; there he would have been safest from his

enemies of the Sanhedrin, and there in the lonely places of the hills, where his earliest revelations had come to him, he could have awaited the leading of the spirit. For though he could find a warrant for what had happened to him in scripture, there is no evidence that Jesus had expected this second term of living, or that he knew, except as it was the will of God, why it had come to him. It was not, as he seems to have realized from the first, that second coming of the apocalypse, in which the social order was to be renewed; it was the fulfilment of prophecy, and for whatever else it was he could wait as he had always waited, without hurrying God, without guessing. That he should have gone about in secret was part of the necessity of the time and occasion, part, too, of his consistent plan to disembarrass his disciples as far as possible from the implication of his presence. Also, simply as he had trusted their love for him, he could hardly at this juncture trust much to their discretion. That he had a refuge in the mountain of which nothing was known to them except that it *was* in the mountain, we have seen, and also that he made plans at times without consulting them. That he should have made his way back to Galilee without their aid is neither new nor strange in his dealing with them; in view of his extraordinary spiritual resources it presents few material problems.

To Galilee, then, he seems to have gone, and the

disciples each to his own house and calling. The next meeting is every way in the manner to indicate that Jesus waited his final direction in the hills above the lake of Gennesaret, somewhat removed from its most populous border. On a day some weeks after the events of Jerusalem, Peter and the sons of Zebedee went fishing, and with them in the boat were Thomas and Nathaniel of Cana, and two other of the disciples. They went out at even, and all that night they caught nothing, but when it was morning, the fishing-smack standing close in toward the shore, they saw Jesus calling to them from the land and directing them where they should cast in the nets. But when they realized it was the Master, Peter threw his fishing-coat about him, for he had stripped to the labor of casting, and waded in to the shore. Presently came the others, dragging the nets, to discover that Jesus had built a fire, and laid fish to broil on the coals and prepared bread. So they ate and talked together as they must have done so many times in the beginning of his ministry, when the shared, simple meal was all they had among them of the kingdom.

In this fashion the appearances of Jesus after his death are set down, not other than the appearances of his life, except for here and there the legendizing touch. Of his coming and going in secret, mysterious vanishings are made. Mark, who wrote what Peter

told him, says simply that he appeared while the disciples were at supper and upbraided them for their unbelief, but John, writing in the second century, says that the door was shut. Mark says that the women at the tomb met a young man there, Matthew makes him an angel, and Luke, writing hearsay only, makes two of him in shining garments. Such a development in forty or fifty years for an event which, even when it happened, was regarded as supernatural, is less than might have been expected. And then, suddenly, on an occasion which all seem to have recognized as final, the appearances stopped.

It seems that there had been a preaching, somewhere in the hills, and that more than the twelve were present. Paul, twenty years after the event, says that there were about five hundred; others mention simply a great company. After the discourse, when he would have left them, those who were nearest to him in affection went a part of the way, and when he had lifted up his hands and blessed them they saw him pass from them toward his chosen place, of which they knew nothing except that they should not see him again in this fashion; and they believed that he had ascended into heaven.

So passed the most singular and appealing character in all history. The spring was at the flood, the barley beginning to head, and anemones bright as blood pricked out the paths. None saw him go

but a handful of fishermen and villagers; Tiberius he left upon the seat of Rome and the eagles flying over Jerusalem, not a tax remitted nor a dream realized, not a word of all his revelation written. Even so he went in the same quiet confidence that had sustained him, more completely at one with the purposes of God than any man who has yet believed in Him, and, as we admit, most completely justified.

Of what transpired between Jesus and his disciples on the scant occasions when they were together after his crucifixion, there is not much that appears in the records. Most of it was by way of turning their minds back to the scriptures to find in them confirmation of all that he was and did as the true Messiah. This was important since it was only by so believing that they were able to induce a world to believe in him. But two things which do not show particularly in his other teachings, stand out to confirm the reality of his post-crucifixion appearance. The first of these was the command to go into all the world and preach his gospel, *beginning at Jerusalem;* and the second was the assurance that he would not leave them comfortless, but that they were to tarry at Jerusalem until they were imbued of the spirit. Nowhere earlier than this do we find the slightest intimation of what was expected of his disciples after he should leave them.

That he had prepared them to spread his gospel is reasonably plain, but there is nothing to show that he expected other than they expected—namely, that the kingdom should almost immediately appear. He expected to come again after death to effect the reorganization of society on Messianic lines, but there is no evidence that his own reappearance in the frame and fashion in which he had first preached was either anticipated or understood by him. He believed that he had been dead and was alive again. But if the events cloudily foreseen by him before his death had not fallen out as the vision indicated, at no time had he dropped beyond that realization of the immortal purposes of God which distinguished him. If in the last hours of his anguish he had felt himself momentarily pushed off from that breast which had nourished him, lo! he had fallen into the lap of God! The currents of eternal being still circulated through him. How much he understood of the relation of his death to the survival of his teaching we cannot even guess; we can only know that the informing communion with what for him was the Father, was not broken. From it he drew the assurance, all that the occasion called for, that enough of what he had had would be granted to his disciples. They were to wait for it at Jerusalem. . . . "And lo, I am with you alway." This was the hope and promise that, while it closed around the nursling faith to keep

it warm, closed in upon the vital principle of Christianity almost to the point of strangulation.

How tender and personal this hope was even at this distance we can measure. It kept them keyed to the expectation of things unspeakable; every day might be the great day of the Lord! How often they looked out on the hill-paths about Bethany, how many times his mother started at a knock on the door . . . for they had seen him in the flesh, and in the same likeness they thought to see him again.

§

Paul, when he mentions the post-crucifixion appearances of Jesus, says that he appeared also unto Peter. Of this we have no account, though such an interview is plainly indicated. It is indicated in the complete reinstatement of Peter, who denied him, in the confidence of the Master and respect of the other disciples; it is indicated in the authority which was conceded by the twelve to Peter, even stronger in tradition than in the scripture, where evidence of it is not wanting. More than all else it is indicated in the stout conviction of Peter himself that he had seen the Lord. He preached it, was scourged and in prison because of it, he died for it. His faith in the risen Christ made of him a heavy, blundering, impulsive fisherman, one of the chief apostles, preaching acceptably in the cities of the known world, establishing churches out of hand.

But of this interview Peter says nothing, unless it be indicated in that reference to the manner of his death which he says Jesus foretold him. And John Mark, who wrote all that he could remember of what Peter told him, says nothing, or at least nothing that has come down to us, for it is agreed that the story of Mark has been cut off at the point where the women returning from the empty tomb were afraid to speak of what they had seen. It has been suggested that the true ending of Mark was replaced by a later version because his account of what Peter told him constituted an admission of the phantasmal character of the appearance, a vision, a hallucination.

But how if it were the other way about, and Mark's story was rejected because it showed all too plainly a man believed to be dead, but found living and as a man disposing his affairs? This would have been the more likely if the young man the women found at the sepulcher had been the same Mark, noticed as standing by at the arrest of Jesus, and fleeing from the officers, leaving in their hands his linen garment, for tradition makes this young man John Mark and no other. The one explanation is as possible as the other; and by the time the book of Mark was written it was not only believed that Jesus rose from the dead, but many other things were believed about him which were no part of his

teachings, but were owed to Paul of Tarsus. It was notable that during their lifetime there were several things about which Peter and Paul had the greatest difficulty in coming to agreement. Paul, you may be sure, would have cut off the manuscript of Mark with his own hand if he thought it contradicted in any particular that understanding of the teachings of Jesus which he claims openly to have received, not in the flesh, but in the spirit.

But whatever Peter said and Mark transcribed, there is no question as to what Simon believed on the first occasion of his preaching Jesus risen from the dead. He believed all that we have seen Jesus do and teach; he believed also that he had seen his Master in the flesh, himself and not another. He believed that Jesus was the Christ, and that his crucifixion and resurrection could be shown to be part of the authentic prophecy. He believed that the death and raising from the dead had been permitted both as a witness to the Messianic character of Jesus, and as an assurance to man of a life beyond this life which should belong to those who believed in him. This was important in view of something else which he had come to believe within the last forty or fifty days—namely, that the kingdom might be some time deferred and that many of the disciples, himself among them, should die before it could be inaugurated. But with the certainty that

Jesus was a Christ of the dead who died in the Lord, there was an end of all uneasiness. The last word as to the futility of the kingdoms of this world had been pronounced when they matched themselves against his immortal quality.

It is not difficult to realize how important a part this single item of resurrection from the dead played in the acceptance of Christianity, for without it, where indeed would have been the assurance that, once the race was run, the crown would be forthcoming? The preparation for the kingdom prescribed by Jesus and his disciples demanded sacrifices and separations. . . . "For I am not come to bring peace, but a sword," said the Master, "to set a man at variance against his father. . . ." Why then should they suffer these things if by dying before the great day, men should lose their inheritance? It was the assurance that they should not so lose that brought Peter and the others back to Jerusalem, where, they must have known, they should be received in something the same kind as Jesus had been. They came back secure in the faith that nothing whatever that happened to them could separate them from the love of Jesus. And if it were a vision that had brought them to this pitch, then it were well if mankind would some time cultivate the faculty of visions.

They came back, then, about a hundred and

twenty of them, at the time of Pentecost; more than had actually accompanied Jesus on his first journey in the flesh. They came because they had somehow been convinced that there were to be no more appearances, and that at Jerusalem they were to wait for a baptism of that spirit which was in Jesus. For they had said to him on one of the occasions of their being together after the crucifixion, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel?" And he had answered them:

"It is not for you to know times and seasons . . . but ye shall receive power after the holy ghost has come upon you . . . and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

In pursuance of this parting instruction they had come together, and finding a warrant for it in the book of Psalms,—for Jesus had evidently not instructed them on this point,—they chose another of their number, one Matthias, to be numbered with the eleven in the place of Judas, as a witness of the resurrection. Thus having done what they could to perfect the form of organization which Jesus initiated, they were all with one accord in one place, praying and waiting. And suddenly, as with the sound of a mighty wind from heaven, the Holy Ghost was upon the company, and like unto a tongue of fire it dwelt upon each of them. Whoever, in

whatever cause, has received the illumination of the spirit will well know that sense of wind and fire with which it confirms its coming. Descending on these plain villagers and fisherfolk, it lifted them to the most stupendous spiritual undertaking of all history.

No way is hard where there is a simple heart.
Nor is there any wound when the thoughts are upright.
Nor is there any storm in the depth of illuminated thought.

Where one is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is divided:
The likeness of that which is below is that which is above;
For everything is above; what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge.

Grace has been revealed for your salvation.
Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah!

[Early Christian hymn. Translated by Rendell Harris.]

IX

SUPPOSE now this happened yesterday, that a man, speaking as never man spoke before, perished in our midst at the instigation of a few whose prejudices he crossed and whose profits he interrupted? And suddenly to-day all our social organization goes limping and awry for want of what he offered us. Should we have any difficulty then in seeing his work as Peter and James and John, as Andrew and Philip and Thomas, as Matthew and the rest of them before they came under the influence of Paul, saw the work of Jesus, as incomplete, unperfected? Certainly not if we understood him as well as with the help of all the centuries we are able to understand the man from Nazareth.

He came declaring the immanence of a state of society on which the will of God could be worked out freely, as it could not in the state to which he came, and he went still declaring it unestablished and confident that he should come again and heal the aching time. Some color his words must have lent to the belief that he should come with apocalyptic terrors and suddenness, for in the beginning there

is no doubt that he thought of the world as being healed as he healed lepers, at a stroke. Later he spoke of the growth of the new order as mysterious as the growth of a seed in the ground and as natural. ". . . First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." But however he spoke of it, the conviction was never far from his mind that love could not rule in Israel nor heaven be wholly come until great changes should be effected in the social organization. Of this the disciples were as convinced as we could be, and they lived not as those to whom the kingdom had come, but *ad interim*, until the day of its appearing. For all their enlightenment they took the same attitude toward the second coming that the Scribes and Pharisees took toward the first. They looked for it in the heavens instead of, as Jesus himself came, springing lowly from the earth.

But if Jesus were to come to-morrow—or had already come in Hyde Park or Rutgers Square—as simply and in much the same fashion as he came to Capernaum—(*Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly!*)—and the constitution of the new social order were springing as a mustard-seed in our midst, by what signs should we know it?

First of all, by its being established on the faith in Something Without Us; God, the Divine Mind, the Eternal Purpose, of the nature of which men are

partakers as the son partakes of the father; and on the faith in Life as a progress toward the fulfilment of that purpose, proceeding best when most intelligently in touch with God the Father. This is the root and branch of that mind which was in Jesus, which must be dug deep into the social consciousness; and by no means is to be attained by plucking here and there a preferred saying from a casual bough. "Love your neighbor as yourself," he said; but in no skopkeeping fashion, as much as yourself, with equal measure, but as *being yourself*, part of the undivided fabric of humanity. But before he said "love your neighbor," he had said: "Love God with all your soul and with all your mind and with all your strength"; submit yourself wholly to the eternal Purpose unfolding in the consciousness of men and discernible in the open face of history. Not only through the intelligence, perceiving that by the well or ill being of a particular class all society is affected, but with a live throbbing, in a state of active sentience.

That Jesus thought of this state of social awareness as costing something to maintain, is plain enough, but also he thought of it as important to maintain at any cost. "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out . . . and if thy right hand offend thee cut it off and cast it from thee." For with Jesus good and evil were not thought of as being constituted in the

general opinion, nor by conformity with the rules of any institution, nor even with a previous revelation, but only as they furthered or hindered that harmonious interrelation of God and Man which is the kingdom of heaven. Greeds of money and of the flesh, pride, anger, and the natural affections were to be cut off when and because they were impeding, when and because they stopped the individual from putting his particular case to the question of the whole; not as standing apart, wise and condescending, but as partaking of its wholeness. There is no single rule of living delivered by Jesus which cannot very shortly be shown to take its validity from the extent to which the item of conduct under consideration capacitates or incapacitates man for harmonious social activity. What he taught, what he desired for himself and his disciples, was a state of complete mobilization.

And if you say that this is not to be attained except by the practice of those phases of Christianity which are called mystical, let us understand once for all that Jesus came teaching, more than any other man, that the mystical is the practical. All those high states which had been the exclusive privilege of saints and prophets he made part of the common use and possession. Mind, Spirit, whatever it is which flows between God and man and between man and his brother, he constituted the daily instrument,

accessible alike to learned and unlearned. God is as free as air, and heaven as close at hand in a fishing-boat as in Jerusalem. He did a healing in the course of an afternoon call and forgave sins between the roast and the dessert. He made no more of a mystery of the stupendous forces of spiritual regeneration than of the springing of wheat in the field. He drew—though we have not yet accepted it at his hands—all the manifestations of the supernatural into the field of the natural. "Do me a miracle," said the fat Herod, when Jesus had been brought before him bound from Pilate, but Jesus did no miracles, nothing which he did not openly declare and we now know to be commonly possible . . . the fulfilment of law. We are ourselves responsible for the hocus-pocus with which we have smothered those operations of the spirit which Jesus recommended as a means of obtaining the necessary ethical efficiency. We have used his name instead of his power, and queered the whole vocabulary of spiritual vitality without being able to rid ourselves of the least of its realities. We speak of personal prayer in the phrases of auto-suggestion and the work of healing in the jargon of therapeutics, and pay a handsome sum to confess our sins to a psychoanalyst who will blush to confess them freely to God.

It is for reasons like this that we remain, in an age

of great enlightenment, in a state of immobility. The Spirit is still operative in the world, clarifying, revealing. Luthers still arise, and Lincolns, Joan of Arc arose, Jane Addams arises. Many sincere souls offer us the true vision. The brotherhood of man is better understood and more widely applied than it was in the time of Jesus, who thought first of Israel and then of the little dogs under the table. Things are known and approved for the betterment of nations so that none dare deny them. But no mobilization of society can be effected toward the establishment of the kingdom, except in some manner by the use of the same means that Jesus practised. At least, nobody has yet done it.

For two thousand years we have launched ourselves on a really magnificent scale on every conceivable experiment for sustaining the atmosphere of the kingdom of God without its reality, only to find that there simply won't any of them work. We are at the end of all our shifts for creating heaven on earth by sleight of spirit. Puritanism and mysticism alike have been but so many turns of the screw in directions which effect nothing toward the ultimate achievement. Communism won't do it, nor voluntary poverty, and charity has come to be looked upon as a positive deterrent. We have prophesied in his name and in his name cast out devils of graft and corruption, and they have re-

turned, bringing seven others. We say, Lo here! and, Lo there! and we have not yet learned that the kingdom of heaven is in the midst of us.

§

The kingdom of heaven is up to us. It consists very simply in casting ourselves, hand linked in hand, on the bosom of the eternal purpose, and not with psalm-saying and long countenance, but in a spirit of high adventure. Said Jesus, "Be of good cheer, I'm with you!" So also all the great souls calling across the ages.

This is the meaning of all the work that Jesus did to free his people of the need to do things because they had been a long time doing them. They did not always accept such freedom, but remained as an ox standing in the stall after the halter is loosed which bound him; but there is no doubt that he meant to show them that the only legitimate excuse for anybody doing anything is that the Eternal Purpose is served by it. In such service lies freedom from tradition. Likewise in the operation of the spirit lies release from the fret of illness, from the sense of lack and unfriendedness. Here and now and not in some distant fruit of indirect political action are the eternal verities. "*And if they shall say unto you, he is in the desert, go not forth: behold he is in the secret chamber, believe it not.*" . . . "*For where two or three are met together . . . there will I be.*"

The predicament of society has been to express in terms of the more than two or three, the clear call of Jesus to essential use as against the arbitrary laws of social exigency. For men in nations must live in some degree by forms, and until this present the followers of Jesus have not been able to deduce from his personal teaching the precise frame of economic or political organization conformable with the kingdom. There wants still a prophet to cut through all the dead and dying traditions of social living as Jesus pruned the Levitical formality of Hebraism. Lacking such a one, we do what we can with the pattern in hand.

It must appear very early that to the people sincerely bent on producing a society in which the will of God is manifest, the particular political form is of the least importance. There could not be very material differences between the procedures of a Christian king and a Christian president; but monarchy or republic, the indispensable mark of Christian vitality is that the state should be fluent, able to move readily like a growing thing in the direction from which the light cometh. Stated in terms of the social mass, the promise of Jesus that with God all things are possible means no more or less than that so moving in harmony with the eternal purpose we arrive at undreamed-of possibilities. No political propaganda then, which accepts a limi-

tation for the race, or looks forward to any shape of social fixity can nominate itself Christian. The Purpose, turning like a mill-wheel in the stream, works up every wave of it, flashing the last least drop in the sun.

The maintenance of such a mobile state is by no means so difficult as it appears, provided that the place of individuals in the state be established on grounds clearly defined by Jesus whenever in his ministry the subject came to his attention. It did so come on more than one occasion, and seems to have lain close to the minds of his disciples all the way from Cæsarea-Philippi to Jerusalem. Who should be first in the kingdom, who sit in the chief seats? This was the question, and the answer was always the same and unequivocal—"He that is greatest among you, let him be the servant of all."

Now the one thing next to tradition which tends to fixity of political forms is privilege; privilege of lands and waters, privilege of first fruits and spoils of war, privilege of place and profit. For these men fight and intrigue, making kings and unmaking them. But Service goes by capacity; it may neither be schemed for nor inherited. It arises in unexpected places, a carpenter's shop, a rail-splitter's cabin, and no man may so much as pass it on even to his son. Although service itself be reckoned a supreme

privilege and guarded jealously, it at least cannot be farmed. *As the summer lightning cometh out of the east and shineth unto the west,* so are the gifts by which society is served. In a state, then, whose chief citizens are accounted those who serve most, there cannot be even a serving class, and fluency is maintained not by a series of head-on collisions with established privilege, but by pushing it aside as the tip of the growing plant pushes the sod. For the Christian state is no longer to be thought of as a system of inhibitions and prohibitions, but a living affirmation. Before all else it must needs be "a going concern."

From his handling of his disciples, from many parables, it is evident that Jesus never contemplated a society of mechanical equalities. But so far as he thought of rank and order he thought of them as arising from the natural endowment of men, and of men estimated in heaven as they served heaven and not themselves. But even as he made service the criterion of worth in the kingdom of God, so he would have certainly decided against any economic device which would have straitened the individual capacity for serving. No procedure, whether it be an ill-nourished youth or an insufficient wage, which leaves men lessened of their normal worth, can be thought of as consistent with a Christian state. Loving God with all your soul and all your mind and all

your strength was the Nazarene's way of putting our modern plea for efficiency in social service.

At first glance it would seem that he thought not at all of goods and their distribution, and, if he thought of them, left no witness. We have seen how the simple communism of the first church at Jerusalem grew rather out of the teaching of John the Baptist than of Jesus, and was not enjoined by them on other churches. It was like the common purse of the twelve on their pilgrimages, the outgrowth of a temporary common objective. On the night of the Passover, knowing their interests about to be scattered, Jesus bade each man take his own, and later we find them again working their own boats on Gennesaret. Groping deeper, however, into the groundwork of his doctrine, we may without too much hesitancy strike out the main lines of a world organization harmonious with whatever else he taught in other departments of living.

There is no doubt that his sense of the brotherhood of man and sonship to the Father went somewhat deeper than our biological appreciation of kinship in the human family. He thought of us as "abiding" in it, inalienable, no more able to fall out of it than we can fall off the earth. Sin and sickness were schisms which temporarily discomfited us, but could in no wise nullify the kinship. Judas he received even after he had been sold by him. All

his handlings of the sick and the sinning were alike, inasmuch as they made for wholeness, unifying and re-establishing the relation. In a Christian state there could be no such outcastings as we make of the criminal and the non-conformist. Our brother, sick of sensuality or of fever, of money lust or malaria, is still our brother, and so to be dealt with.

Thinking always of men as children of one father, it is probable that Jesus would have thought of our relation to the earth as beings something more intimate than mere possessiveness. Certainly he would have conceived that *the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof* in a sense more imperative than our poetic appreciation makes it so. All early Hebrew law exhibited this profounder relation, and attempted to express it in ordinances, many of which were still in force in his time. The Pharisaical fussiness which made it a Sabbath-breaking for Jesus and the twelve to thresh out the ripe grain between thumb and palm, did not so much as question their right to eat of the fruit of the field and the orchard through which their path lead. The certainty lying deep in Israel that somehow the last ears must not be gleaned, the last cluster gathered, nor the ox muzzled in treading out the corn, was it not somehow the far-derived root from which sprang this new revelation of the Fatherliness of God? One law they had which expresses their sense of the pro-

cesses of organized society as a progress away from the indispensable relation. It was the law of the Sabbath of the land. Six years did they plow the field and prune the vineyard and gather the fruit thereof, but the seventh was a year of rest for the land. And after seven-sevens of Sabbaths, in the day of atonement a trumpet sounded to hallow the fiftieth year *and to proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto the inhabitants thereof.* And in this fiftieth year of jubilee they returned every man to his possession; and only according to the number of years from the jubilee could the land be bought or sold, for *The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine:* . . . And every one who in that year had come into bondage because of poverty should depart from his bondage and return unto his own. For even man was not permitted to be sold away forever from God. So through a multiplicity of carefully devised provisions Israel attempted from time to time to restore man and the land to their normal relation.

This was a part of that law which Jesus said he had come to fulfil; not merely to obey nor yet meticulously observe, but to exemplify in its profoundest implications. It is impossible not to think that, had the man from Nazareth directly turned his attention to the re-establishment of a mode of social living, his first effort would have been to

demonstrate the brotherhood of man in terms of his inheritance. It would have been consistent at every point for him to have denied permanent and exclusive possessorship in the property of the Father. He would have justified it, as did Israel, out of experience, and the faith that nothing which is in harmony with the natural constitution of society can work in any way other than toward its betterment.

Such a handling of land and natural resources is undoubtedly implied in the completed Hebrew economy to which Jesus not infrequently referred his followers on points which did not come within the immediate scope of his teaching.

Deeper still in his doctrine of service as the criterion of citizenship in the kingdom, lies the unwinding clue to all that intricate web of credit and finance within which our modern civilization flutters to its death. We miss it only by persisting in the medieval notion that his repeated warnings against the obsessions of property constituted an embargo on the use and enjoyment of Things. Himself took pleasure in feasts and good wine, perfume and ointment for the head, clothes as good as he could afford—did not the feed and over-fed guards of the Prætorium dice for them?

He seems, however, to have thought of these things as surrendered to the Purpose and so passing from hand to hand, not necessarily by the ugly ma-

terial means of acquirement, but in answer to some profounder demand of the Spirit. Obliquity lies not on him who takes pleasure in them as they pass, but on that man who diverts them to personal ends and renders them inoperative by ownership. In a society wholly committed to the fulfilment of the Purpose, where houses and lands are esteemed only for their capacity to increase the individual power to serve, goods would circulate freely and the accumulation of them become as burdensome as their lack is now felt to be. I can make no less than this of his "Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat . . . wherewithal shall we be clothed." A society spiritually organized by a sense of its unity with God, distribution of wealth would be accomplished in somewhat the same fashion as the body assigns its proportionate nutriment, saying This to the bone, that to the blood, that the social body remain sound and competent.

We are still a long way from any frame of society which would enable us to verify this teaching by experiment, but the first unavoidable step in the direction of Christian finance would be to administer the entire system of credit and banking not in the interests of owners as now, but in the interests of those that serve. It needs but to reorganize our social reactions around the question, What can you do? rather than What have you got? to dissipate

our most vexed economic problems as the mere froth and churning of a system not spiritually organized.

If this is not so much of a practical direction as some of us would wish, it is at least more than has been yet accomplished. If it does not immediately produce the kingdom, it bears out the good half of the announcement that it is "at hand," lies in its simplicity and in the immediacy of the instrument, "in the midst of us." It establishes the social revolution not as a thing to be accomplished, but as a thing experienced.

The teaching of Jesus which is most in men's mouths to-day is the brotherhood of man, but the one most necessary to any realization of it in terms of human organization is that one which burst upon him at the ford of Jordan with the effect of the heavens being opened. . . . *This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased* . . . the sense of ourselves harmoniously related to the Purpose and important to it, used by it. In our day we have stretched out our hand to man our brother, but to man as a spiritual orphan, unfathered. And we know no more what to do with the other hand than to wave a red flag with it or to go through his pockets, according to our several dispositions. It is only when we have clasped God on the other side that the currents of eternal possibility circulate through us. It was in

such a vital connection that the whole power and personality of Jesus was suspended, as the stars are hung in the windless spaces. Such a revelation flashed upon Peter and James and John in the hour when the Messiahship of Jesus burned for them between the two candles of the law and the prophets. It is the tree from which brotherhood proceeds by a thousand fruiting branches.

For none of these things are so because Jesus taught them. Rather the whole hope of ethical reorganization depends on our being able to be sure that he taught such things because, more than any man else, he perceived them to be so. To realize them in terms of human conduct it is not so important to establish the exact degree of the sonship of Jesus, but to be able to know that relation for ourselves as the most poignant of human realities. Whether, indeed, we are the stream proceeding from the source of Life, or midges dancing upon it? Twenty centuries have not produced the kingdom out of an evangelical system of believing what somebody wrote down of what somebody reported that Jesus said. Comes now the untried experiment of establishing it in the things that Jesus believed. Much the dull-hearted time to which he came has lost to us, but this remains.

He believed in man and in God the Father, friend of the soul of man. He believed in the future, but he

believed also in Here and Now. He believed that the ills of this world are curable while we are in the world by no other means than the spirit of Truth and Brotherliness working its lawful occasions among men.

§

This was that man approved of God whom Peter preached, standing in Solomon's porch opposite the Gate Beautiful, before Paul came interpreting the new experiences which Christianity brought in terms of an inherited concept. Thus they spoke of him while they still thought of his death as originating in the cruelty and wickedness of the Levitical party, before any one seems to have imagined that he died for our sins or that, in dying, he contributed any more to the kingdom than his life showed forth; before he began to be spoken of as they spoke of Hadrian and Trajan and Augustus, as God and Saviour; before the poor and simple learned to think of him in terms of the poor and simple—True Vine, Bread of Life, Good Shepherd. They thought of him as a man appointed for a certain task, sent by God, a Jew, not establishing a new religion, but clarifying and renewing the faith of their fathers, adding to their objective idea of sin as a violation of law, his subjective concept of it as a breach of at-one-ness with the Father. To Peter and the rest of them Christianity was a healing of this breach through faith in Jesus as dead and

alive again. This for them was the kingdom; not the overthrow of one form by another, but the flux of all forms, pomps, empires, societies, in the redemption of Life from the bondage of Things.

All this began to be changed very soon, almost in the lifetime of the apostles, but before the simple earlier belief had become entangled in the ebullient new life of the church it had been gathered up and kept for us as sacred relics are kept on silver altars. It had been embodied in a myth of such naïve and tender beauty that still, after twenty centuries, one touches it reverently, knowing that the world has not produced its like.

It is not always possible to trust the objective reports of men as unlettered and untrained of mind as were those who stood nearest to Jesus. Their wits move too close to the earth; sentiment and observation meet the intelligence with one indistinguishable impact. They report what they sense rather than what they see and know, and the sense is often limited by the limitation of their outlook. But in matters which come so close to the people as did the experiences of early Christianity, we can always trust their myth-making. For a myth is a report of the soul's essential traffic with the Invisible Forces, prefigured in human incident. Before all the actors in it had been gathered with those who slept, there began to be circulated a myth about the

coming of Jesus which holds, as insects are held in amber, every vital element of the faith which was entertained by those most nearly touched by it. And just as the story which Jesus himself told of his struggle on the mount of the Wilderness, was a long time arriving at a material interpretation, so the story which arose concerning the birth of Jesus was two or three centuries in passing from its purely spiritual significance to historical acceptance. By such acceptance it was preserved to us intact, to reveal to our time the profound and simple concept of the place of Jesus in human consideration.

It begins with an attempt to derive the descent of Jesus from all history on the one hand, and, on the other, to present his sonship with God in terms with which the time was familiar. They were world terms in the sense that no tribe at any time has found a more expressive figure for the glad surrender of the race to divine use, than the yielding of women to their supremest service. To be filled with the Spirit as the mother is filled with the hope of new being,—this it is to be fruitful toward God, to produce the ultimate Brotherhood. In some such way all simple people have expressed it. The story told by Matthew and Luke goes further and exhibits the studious search of the scientific for the Truth, and their amazement to find it—is not this where all the wisdom of the schools has landed us?—with the ass

and the lowing kine, a child in a manger. So far the story might have come out of any nation, but only one could have added the prophetic touch of truth hid from the wise and revealed to near-by shepherds, or have seen in the figure of Herod all privilege striking blind and large at the new birth which threatens it, slaying the innocent as in how many rages of privilege it is slaughtered, while yet the eternal Hope escapes, fleeing into Egypt, nursed and husbanded by the people.

By such means even while the descendants of Mary lived and the grandnephews of Jesus worked their Galilean farm, was the intimate teaching of Jesus kept in remembrance. Thus in the wrappings of twenty centuries is preserved to us the seed of the kingdom that is not to be circumscribed by legislation, but must be entered into by personal determination. To some such knowledge of it we must return if we would see it advanced in our generation. For Christianity is not a system of theology, but a way of life in which the validity of your relation to God is witnessed in your relation to your neighbor.

THE END

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